

طوی میرزا هندال آنله سلطانم یکم خواهر مهدی خواجه بودند نیز
 بابام غیر جعفر خواجه فرزند دیکرند اشتند و فرزند نمی شد
 اکه جانم سلطانم را بفرزندی نکاه داشته بودند و دوساله بود
 که خانزاده یکم نکاه کرده بودند و عیال و بست می داشتند
 و به برادرزاده خود داد و طوی را در کمال لطافت و هنر
 کردند کوشکه و ادسقه و پنج توشک و پنج لیستوق و یک
 سیکه کلان و دو تیکه کلوه و قوشقه و لعاب مع خرگاه جلیغ
 مع سه توشک همه زرد دوزی و سروپای می میرزا ایچار
 و تاج زرد دوزی و فوطه و رویاک و رومال زرد دوزی و
 تور پوش زرد دوزی و سلطانم یکم نه نیمه تیکه دارجوا
 یکی از لعل و یکی از یاقوت و یکی از زعفران و یکی از فیروزه و
 یکی از زبرجد و یکی از عین الهرة دیکر زهر کور و یک
 چاقب و چار قرینجی تیکه دار و یک حفت حلقه لعل و
 یک حفت حلقه در سه پنجه و یک خیرشاهی یکدخت و دو خطیب
 و دیکر اسباب و اشیا و رخت و رخت و کارخانها از همه

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

NEW SERIES

I

THE

HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN

(HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA)

BY

GUL-BADAN BEGAM (PRINCESS ROSE-BODY)

Translated, with Introduction, Notes, Illustrations and
Biographical Appendix, and reproduced in the Persian
from the only known MS of the British Museum

BY

ANNETTE S BEVERIDGE, M R A S

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To
MY HUSBAND,
WHO SET MY FEET UPON THE PERSIAN WAY,
AND HAS STREWED IT
WITH OPEN HEARTED LARGESSE OF HELP AND COUNSEL

A S B

November, 1901

PREFACE

It was in October, 1900, that the late Mr F F Arbuthnot made arrangements with me for the publication of this volume. It has now to put forth bereft of his guidance. I can but trust that he would have given to the finished work the welcome with which he greeted the small portion I was able to show him in print. It is natural to feel towards him what he has expressed in his dedication of the Assemblies of *Al Haṭīrī* to Chenery, and to hope he may be glad of the fulfilment of this piece of his work.

The little history which is reproduced in this volume has few, if any, compeers, inasmuch as it is the work of a Musalmānī, and lights up her woman's world. She writes colloquially and without pose, and is unaffected and spontaneous. For these reasons I have tried to make an accurate copy of her text, and to preserve her characteristics of orthography and diction, and this the more that the British Museum MS may be her very own, unique, and autographic. With a few chosen exceptions, I have reproduced all her deflections from common rule without comment, my additions to the MS are limited to a few *izāfats* and other signs of which example is given at some place in the MS.

Princess Rose body has rendered one essential service to history, by giving precise details of relationship in her own and some contemporary families. Up till now, however, no use has been made of her information, and her book has remained, both in India and Europe, a literary *paṇḍa-nīshīn*.

The Biographical Appendix, which I have modelled in admiration of Professor Blochmann's in his *ſin-i-ahbarī*, will, I hope, be of use to future writers. It is the outcome of the notes of several years, but it is incomplete and over brief. Nevertheless, it discloses the elements of many a romantic story.

One of an author's most agreeable final touches is the expression of thanks to those who have helped his book on its way. My obligation to my husband is too great to be told. I am much indebted to Mr A G Ellis for his unflinching kindness during the long and pleasant time of my work in the British Museum, and to my friends Mr E H Whinfield and Mr W Irvine for the expression of their opinions on several perplexing points. As I have said in writing of the plates, I owe all my illustrations but one to Mr Bourdillon, B C S.

The printing of a book so full as is this one of unfamiliar names and of diacritically-marked letters entails a heavy tax upon proof-readers and compositors. I wish to express my sense of this, and to thank Messrs Billing, their proof-readers and their compositors for what they have done to accomplish a difficult and tiresome task. My thanks are indeed due and are offered to Messrs Druegm for the patience and skill with which they have dealt with Persian copy from my untrained hand.

I now venture to express, in Mr E Granville Browne's words, the thought which haunts all who make a book, and to beg my critics to listen to their plea.

'Now, seeing that to fail and fall is the fate of all, and to claim exemption from the lot of humanity a proof of pride and vanity, and somewhat of mercy our common need, therefore let such as read, and errors detect, either ignore or neglect, or correct and conceal them, rather than revile and reveal them.'

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 این تاریخ در شصت و یکمین سال از احوال حضرت
 کتبی شان و اولاد و اجداد و انجمن و بیست و یکم
 حضرت میرزا محمد آقا که از اجداد بر تاج پادشاه
 بیست و دویم در عهد و اولاد پادشاهان و
 در این شصت و یکمین سال و پادشاهان و پادشاهان و پادشاهان

NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

THE page of the MS selected for reproduction in Plate I contains several words which I have found difficult, and concerning which explanation will be welcomed. It and Plate No II make silent protest against printing, and plead that the sun best shows the grace and beauty of manuscript.

With the exception of the first illustration, all the plates are photographic reproductions from a splendidly illustrated Persian MS, entitled the *Tārīkh-i-khāndān-i-tīmūriya*, which is the choicest volume in the library with which Maulvī Khūda-baksh *Khān Bahādur* has enriched the city of Patna.¹

The Emperor Shāh-jahān appears to have paid R 8,000 for the illustrations in the volume. The MS itself is of older date, and Mr Beveridge has found in it some portions, at least, of the *Tārīkh-i-alfī*. The title-page is wanting.

The volume has a further distinction, inasmuch as it bears on an opening page an autograph note of Shāh-jahān. This is reproduced (as Plate No II) on the opposite page, and by its charm and grace is worthy of that royal fount of creative beauty.

The pictures of Bābar's devotion of himself and the triad connected with the birth of Akbar are admirable, they repay close attention and enlargement under a glass.

¹ A copy of the Maulvī's catalogue (published while he was Chief Justice in Hydarābād) is in the British Museum, and may be consulted for some details of the book (p 110). Mr Beveridge also gives some particulars about it in the *R.A.S. Journal*, January, 1901, p 81.

I am indebted for these pictures, first to Mr Beveridge who, when he examined this *Tārīkh* in 1899, thought of my book, and, secondly, to Mr Bourdillon, the then Commissioner of Patna, who most kindly photographed them for us

TRANSLATION OF SHĀH-JAHĀN'S NOTE

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

This history, which contains an abridgment of the affairs of his Majesty, *Sāhib-qirān Gītī-sitānī* (Timūr), and of his glorious descendants, and of the events of the days of 'Aīsh-āshyānī (Akbar)—May God make clear his proof!—down to the twenty-second year of his reign, was written in the time of Shāh Bābā (Akbar)

Signed Shāh-jahān Pādshāh, son of Jahāngīr Pādshāh, son of Akbar Pādshāh

INTRODUCTION

PART I

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCESS AND HER FAMILY¹

SECTION I—UNDER BĀBAR

GUL-BADAN BEGAM (Princess Rose-body) was a daughter of Zahru-d-dīn Muhammad Bābar, in whom were united the lines of highest Central Asian aristocracy—namely, that of Timūr the Türk, through his son Mirān-shāh, and that of Chingīz the Mughal, through his son Chaghatāi. He was born on February 14th, 1483, and succeeded to his father's principality of Farghāna when under twelve. He spent ten years of early youth in trying to save his small domain from the clutch of kinsmen, but, being forced to abandon the task, went southwards in 1504 to Afghānistān, where he captured Kābul from its Arghūn usurpers.

Princess Gul-badan was born somewhere about 1523 and when her father had been lord in Kābul for nineteen years, he was master also in Kunduz and Badakhshān, had held Bajaur and Swat since 1519, and Qandahār for a year. During ten of those nineteen years he had been styled *pādshāh*, in token of headship of the house of Timū and of

¹ In selecting from the mass of material which, without discursive ness, might have been included under the above heading, only that has been used which concerns the begam or is in touch with her interests and sympathies.

This Introduction corrects several errors which occur in an article on the life and writings of the begam, and which was published by me in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1898.

his independent sovereignty To translate *pādshāh*, however, as is often done, by the word *emperor* would give a wrong impression of Bābar's status amongst rulers at this height of his rising fortunes Nevertheless, Gul-badan was born the child of a strong and stable chief, and of one who was better followed in war than his nominal domains would allow, because his army was drawn for the most part from tribes not under his government, and was not territorial and of Kābul but personal and inherited

Bābar says that he cherished the desire to conquer beyond the Indus for nineteen years At the date of Gul-badan's birth he was engaged in the attempt, and succeeded when she was about two and a half years old He then became the first Tūrki sovereign in Hindūstān, and the founder of its misnamed Mughal dynasty

If the princess had first seen light in London instead of in Kābul, she would have had Henry VIII for king, and the slumbers of her birth-year might have been troubled as men marched forth at Wolsey's will to fight and lose in France Her personal vicissitudes were the greater that she was a Timūrid and Tūrki She spent her childhood under her father's rule in Kābul and Hindūstān, her girlhood and young wifehood shared the fall and exile of Humāyūn, and her maturity and failing years slipped past under the protection of Akbar

Her mother was Dil-dār Begam—the Heart-holding Princess—of whose descent, it is noticeable to observe, neither her husband nor her daughter gives any information This peculiarity of omission she shares with Māham, the wife of Bābar's affection and the mother of his heir, and with Gul-rukh, the mother of Kāmran and 'Askari All three ladies are spoken of by our begam with the style befitting the wives of a king, all were mothers of children, and for this reason, if for no other, it seems natural that something should be said of their birth Bābar frequently mentions Māham, and calls her by this name *tout court* Dil-dār's name occurs in the Tūrki version of the Memoirs, but not in the Persian, and she is there styled *aghācha*—

11, a lady, but not a begam, by birth Gul-rukh is, I believe, never named by Bābar. This silence does not necessarily imply low birth. It may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious, and also it may indicate that no one of the three women was of royal birth, although all seem to have been of good family.

Three Timūrids had been Bābar's wives in childhood and youth. These were 'Āyisha, who left him before 1504 and who was betrothed to him when he was five, Zainab, who died in 1506 or 1507, and Ma'sūma, whom he married in 1507 and who died at the birth of her first child. Mīham was married in Khurāsān, and therefore in 1506, Dil-dār and Gul-rukh probably considerably later, and after the three royal ladies had passed away from the household. The next recorded marriage of Bābar is one of 1519, when a Yusufzāi chief brought him his daughter, Bibī Mubāraka, as the seal of submission. She had no children, and was an altogether charming person in the eyes of those who have written of her.

To return now to Dil-dār. She bore five children, three girls and two boys. The eldest was born in an absence of Bābar from Kābul and in Khost. This fixes her birth as occurring somewhere between 1511 and 1515. She was Gul-iang (Rose-hued), named like her sisters from the rose, then came Gul-chihra (Rose-cheeked), and then Abū'n-nāsu Muhammad, the Hindāl of history, who was born in 1519, next was Gul-badan (Rose-body), and last a boy, whom his sister calls Alwar, a word which looks like a sobriquet drawn from the Indian town. He died after the migration of the household to Āgā, and in 1529.

Princess Gul-badan was born some two years before Bābar set out on his last expedition across the Indus, so her baby eyes may have seen his troops leave Kābul in November, 1525, for the rallying-place at Jacob's Village (*Dih-i-ya'qūb*). It is not mere word-painting to picture her as looking down from the citadel at what went on below, for she tells of later watching from this view-point which would give the farewell glimpse of the departing

army, and, as weeks and years rolled on, the first sight of many a speck on the eastern road which took form as long-gut runner or mounted courier.

We who live upon the wire, need a kindled imagination to realize what it was to those left behind, to have their men-folk go to India. With us, fancy is checked by maps and books, and has not often to dwell on the unknown and inconceivable. To them, what was not a blank was probably a fear. Distance could have no terrors for them, because they were mostly, by tribe and breeding, ingrain nomads, many of them had come from the far north and thought the great mountains or the desert sands the desirable setting for life. Such experience, however, would not help to understand the place of the Hindūs, with its heats, its rains, strange beasts, and hated and dreaded pagans.

It is not easy to say wherein lies the pleasure of animating the silhouettes which are all that names, without detail of character, bring down from the past. Perhaps its roots run too deep and close to what is dear and hidden in the heart, for them to make way readily to the surface in speech. But it is an undoubted pleasure, and it is what makes it agreeable to linger with these women in Kābul in those hours when our common human nature allows their thoughts and feelings to be clear to us. Sometimes their surroundings are too unfamiliar for us to understand what sentiments they would awaken, but this is not so when there is news of marches, fighting, defeat, or victory. Then the silhouettes round, and breathe, and weep or smile.

Bābar left few fighting men in Kābul, but there remained a great company of women and children, all under the nominal command and charge of Prince Kāmīn, who was himself a child. His exact age I am not able to set down, for Bābar does not chronicle his birth, an omission which appears due to its falling in one of the gaps of the *Momins*. Bābar left the city on November 17th, and was joined on December 31d by Humāyūn at the Garden of Fidelity (*Bāgh-i-wafā*). He had to wait for the boy, and was much displeased, and reprimanded him severely.

Humāyūn was then seventeen years old, and since 1520 had been governor of Badakhshan. He had now brought over his army to reinforce his father, and it may well be that Maham had something to do with his delayed march from Kābul. She could have seen him only at long intervals since she had accompanied Bābar, in 1520, to console and settle her child of twelve in his distant and undesired post of authority.

Shortly after the army had gone eastwards, disquieting news must have reached Kabul, for three times before the middle of December, 1525, Bābar was alarmingly ill. What he records of drinking and drug eating may explain this, he thought his illness a chastisement, and set himself to repent of sins which were bred of good fellowship and by forgetfulness in gay company. but his conflict with them was without victory. He referred his punishment to another cause than these grosser acts, and came to regard the composition of satirical verses as a grave fault. His reflections on the point place him near higher moralists, for he says it was sad a tongue which could repeat sublime words, should occupy itself with meaner and despicable fancies. 'Oh, my Creator! I have tyrannized over my soul, and if Thou art not bountiful to me, of a truth I shall be numbered amongst the accursed.' These are some of the thoughts of Babur which lift our eyes above what is antipathetic in him, and explain why he wins the respect and affection of all who take trouble to know him.

Not long after January 5th, 1526, a messenger would reach Kabul who took more than news, for Bābar had found manuscripts in the captured fort of Milwat, and now sent some for Kāmrān, while he gave others to Humāyūn. They were valuable, but not so much so as he had hoped, and many were theological. This and other records about books remind one that they were few and precious in those days. How many that we now rank amongst the best of the sixteenth century had not yet been written! There was

no *Tārīkh-i-ashādī*, and the very stuff of the *Tūzūk* was in the living and making

On February 26th Humāyūn created news which would be as welcome to Māham as it was to Bābar, for he was successful in his first expedition on active service. This occurred at Hisāi-firoza, and the town and district were given to him with a sum of money. News of the victory was despatched to Kābul from Shāhābād, and immediately after Bābar's record of this in the *Memoirs*, there occurs a passage of varied interest, although it seems to European ears a somewhat strange commemoration of a detail of toilette. 'At this same station and this same day the razor or scissors were first applied to Humāyūn's beard.' Bābar made an entry in June, 1504, of the same act accomplished for himself. It was one which Türks celebrated by festivity. The entry quoted above is made as though by Bābar, but it is followed by an explanation that it is inserted by Humāyūn in pious imitation of his father's own. Humāyūn did this in 1553-4, shortly before he set out to recover his father's lost domains in Hindūstān. The date is fixed by his statement that he made the interpolation when he was forty-six.¹

Humāyūn's little victory would be dwarfed by the next news of the royal army, for April 12th, 1526, brought the battle of Pānīpat and the overthrow of Ibrāhīm *Lodī Afghān*, the Emperor of Hindūstān. The swiftest of runners would carry these tidings to Kābul in something under a month. On May 11th Bābar distributed the treasures of five kings, and left himself so little that he was jestingly dubbed beggar (*qalandar*). He forgot no one, but sent gifts far and wide to kinsmen and friends, and to shrines both in

¹ There is a point of great interest about this note of Humāyūn and Mr Erskine's translation of it. I venture to refer readers who take interest in the *Memoirs*, as a book, to my article on the Türkī text of the *Memoirs* (*Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July, 1899), which contains information gathered from some sources which were not at Mr Erskine's disposition, and which suggest that another reading is allowable to the concluding words (not mentioned in this text) of Humāyūn's interpolation.

Arabia and 'Irāq Kābul was specially remembered and a small coin sent for every soul within it Gul-badan tells what was given to the ladies, beginning with the great begams, the aunts of frequent mention It was certainly a wonderful day when the curiosities and splendid things of Hind were unpacked for their inspection, and very welcome, too, would be the amir who escorted the precious caravan He was Bābar's friend, Khwāja Kilān, who had extorted a most unwilling leave from India on the ground that his constitution was not suited to the climate of that country, a delicate assumption of blame to his own defects which it is to be hoped he conveyed to the ladies as a reassurance After the gay social fashion of the time, no doubt he helped the ladies to run day into night in the tale-telling they loved It appears probable that there was no such complete seclusion of Tūrki women from the outside world as came to be the rule in Hindūstān The ladies may have veiled themselves, but I think they received visitors more freely, and more in accordance with the active life of much-travelling peoples, than is the case in Hindū or Moslim houses in India at the present day¹.

The little Gul-badan will have had her present with the rest, and probably, like some others, it was chosen by her father specially for her He sent a list with the gifts so that each person might receive what he had settled upon This he is said to have done both in allotting the jewels and the dancing-guls, the latter of whom are mentioned as sent to the great begams Their novel style of dancing ranks them amongst the 'curiosities of Hind,' but nothing is said about their views of presentation to foreign ladies in Kābul Certainly Gul-badan will have seen them dance, and she will also have enjoyed the joke played off by Bābar from Āgra on an old dependent called 'Asas (night-guard)

¹ I remember a Muhammadan gentleman astonishing me by a story of a Musalmānī child who died of the shock to her propriety when she was taken out from the haram He was an 'English educated' man, and the child was his sister

This and all the begam's stories are left for her to tell, as she does later in this volume

There came with the gifts an injunction which calls out the remark, that at all crises Bābar gave expression to religious feeling and performed due devotional ceremonies. He had desired Khwāja Kilān to arrange for the ladies to go out of the city to the Garden of the Audience-hall, so that they might there make the prostration of thanks for the success of his aims. They were to go in state, and to remain some days. He must have sighed as he planned an excursion so much to his liking and in which he could not share. The act of thanksgiving would be done under a summer heaven, in an enchanting June garden, of which the snowy hills were the distant guide. Our princess will have gone out with the rest, and with ~~thens~~ her small figure, bravely attired, will have bowed forehead to the earth in thanks to the Giver of Victory. Tender thoughts will have travelled to the absent, and especially to him who loved his Kābul as Bābar did.

It is remarkable in him that, longing to return home as he did, he should have had endurance to remain and fight on in Hindūstān. His constitution was assuredly not suited to its climate. His men hated it, his closest friend had left it, Humāyūn and other intimates were soon to follow the khwāja on leave, but he resisted all influences, even when he had become so homesick that he wept at sight of fruit from Kābul. Only love of action, desire to be great, and capacity for greatness, could have held and upheld him at his self-chosen post. It cannot be called a small matter on which the history of hundreds of years turns, and yet it was but the innate quality of one man, and that man very human. Bābar stood fast, and India had Akbar and his splendid followers and all the galaxy of their creations in sandstone and marble.

When Gul-badan was about two years old, and therefore shortly before her father left Kābul, she was adopted by Māham Begam to rear and educate. Māham was the chief lady of the royal household and mother of Bābar's eldest

son, she was supreme, and had well defined rights over other inmates. Perhaps this position justified her in taking from Dil-dār two of her children, Hindāl and Gul-badan, as she did in 1519 and 1525. Before 1519 Māham had lost four children younger than Humāyūn, they were three girls and a boy, and all died in infancy. So it may have been heart-hunger that led to the adoptions she made, or they might be the outcome of affection for Bābar (it is said she was to him what 'Āyisha was to Muhammad), which determined her, if she could not rear her children for him, at least to give him his children with the stamp of her love upon them. In some cases which are mentioned by Bābar, adoptions were made by a childless wife of high degree from a slave or servant, but no such reason seems behind those from Dil-dār. She is spoken of in terms which preclude the supposition that (as Haidar puts it in another place,) she was outside the circle of distinction.

The story of Hindāl's adoption is briefly this. In 1519 Bābar was away from Kābul on the expedition which gave him Bajaur and Swat, and which brought into the royal household Bibī Mubāraka *lusuzāk*. On January 25th he received a letter from Māham, who was in Kābul, about a topic which had been discussed earlier between them—namely, the adoption by her of a child of which Dil-dār expected the birth. Now she repeated her wishes and, moreover, asked Bābar to take the fates and declare whether it would be a boy or girl. Whether he performed the divination rite himself, or had it done by some of the women who were in camp with the army, (he speaks of it as believed in by women,) it was done, and the result was announced to Māham as promising a boy. The rite is simple. Two pieces of paper are inscribed, one with a boy's name and one with a girl's, and are enwrapped in clay and set in water. The name first disclosed, as the clay opens out in the moisture, reveals the secret. On the 26th Bābar wrote, giving over the child to Māham and communicating the prophecy. On March 4th a boy was born, to whom

was given the name of Abū'n-nāsir with the sobriquet of Hindāl by which he is known in history and which is perhaps to be read as meaning 'of the dynasty of Hind'¹ Three days after birth he was taken, whether she would or no, from Dil-dār to be made over to Māham

It is clear that Dil-dār objected, and although the separation could not have been so complete where the real and adoptive mothers are part of one household as it is under monogamous custom, it was certainly hard to lose her firstborn son in this way. She had still her two elder girls. Gul-badan was born four years later and removed from her care at the age of two, by which date, it may be, she had her son Alwar. In after-years Dil dār, as a widow, lived with Hindāl, and she had back Gul badan while the latter was still a young and unmarried girl.

Bābar was separated from his family for over three years after he left Kābul in 1525. The tedium of waiting for news or for his return was broken for the ladies by several interesting home events, and by several items of Indian news which must have stirred the whole community in Kābul. On August 2nd, 1526, Māham gave birth to a son who was named Fāruq, but he too died in babyhood and his father never saw him. In December, 1526, there occurred to Bābar what must have roused anger and dread in all Kābul, for he was poisoned by the mother of Ibrūhīm

¹ The account of the adoption of Hindāl is given in much abbreviated form both by the Persian and English versions of the Memoirs. The latter has, indeed, an error which is not borne out by the Persian *i.e.*, it states that several children had been born in 1519. The correct statement is that several had been borne by Māham younger than Humāyūn. The Turkī text of Kehr and Hmmsky has a longer account, with curious details which may have been omitted on revision of the Memoirs by Bābar himself in later copies, or may have been omitted by the Persian translator. The former is the more probable suggestion, because if the full passage had occurred in the Iphinstone Turkī text used by Leyden and Irskine it could not have escaped both the careful workers. (This MS. is unfortunately not forthcoming for consultation.) The point is of interest as bearing on the history of the Turkī texts. It makes for the opinion that Kehr's source was one of the early copies of the Memoirs since the passage is one which from its domestic nature would be less likely to be added to, than omitted from a revised version.

Lodī Itqān How Bābar conveyed the news of this to his people at home can be seen, because he has inserted the letter he wrote to allay anxiety, as soon as recovered strength permitted. *Gul-badan* has given the main points of the crime. She observes that Bībāi had called the 'ill-fated demon,' mother, and had shown her kindness, a sectional view which leaves out the Afghān mourner, Baw a Begam, whose son had been defeated and killed, his dynasty overthrown, and herself pitied by the man on whom she tried to avenge herself. Her fate is worth commemorating. She was first put under contribution—i.e. made over for the exploitation of her fortune to two of Bābar's officers--and then placed in the custody of a trusty man for conveyance to Kābul. Perhaps she dreaded her reception there, for she contrived to elude her guards in crossing the Indus, threw herself into the water, and was drowned.

The letter above-mentioned is full of what one likes in Bābar. He quotes, 'Whoever comes to the gates of death knows the value of life,' and says, with thanks to Heaven, that he did not know before how sweet a thing life is. Here, too, he shows that he felt the tie which bound him to the Power in whose hands are the issues of life and death. He, his daughter, and his cousin and literary compeer, Haidar Mirza *Dughlat*, frequently express religious sentiment, and here Bābar exhibits the human graces of kind thought and solicitude to lessen the anxieties of his distant household and people. He forced himself to live again, in words, the horrible experiences of which he wrote while still in retirement, and four days¹ only after their occurrence.

¹ This letter bears date December 26th, 1526 and thus provides a detail which is of use when considering the probable time of composition of the Memoirs. Was a copy of the letter kept? Did the original return from Kābul? The impression given by points of evidence is that the book was written down in present form later than the date of this letter. There are in the beginning of it statements which refer its composition or revised version to 1528. The same point is raised by letters of 1529 to Humāyun and Khwāja Khlān, the date of which may indicate progress in the composition.

All the letters share another ground of interest, which is that, having

Three months later Kābul had news of an uplifting victory, inasmuch as it had been won from men of alien faith, whose overthrow was a plenary religious duty to the Moslim. It was fought on March 13th, 1527, against Hindū Rājpūts under Rānā Sangā, and at Khānwa, on the skirts of the yet uncrowned hill of Sīkrī. It was preluded by dread amongst the Musalmāns, and by solemn acts which should make them more worthy to be the tools of Heaven and to enforce the stern belief that in battle with the pagan there was vengeance of the cause of God. Men declared repentance for sin and took oaths of abstinence, gold and silver drinking-vessels, probably of Persian handicraft and artistic beauty, were broken up and given to the poor, wine was poured out upon the ground, and some was salted into vinegar. Where the libation of penitence was offered, the earth was dedicated to the uses of an almshouse with chambered well. So strengthened, the Musalmāns went into the fight and made great slaughter of valiant foes.

The victory was followed by change in the personnel of Bābar's army, which had long been wearying for home and murmuring against Hindūstān. This was especially so amongst Humāyūn's Badakhshīs, who were accustomed to short service of one or two months, and it was now almost sixteen since they had left even Kābul. Only promise of immediate leave to follow had induced some men to stay for this one fight, and they had been told that when it was over, all who desired it should have freedom to go. Many amīrs had given 'stupid and unformed opinions' against remaining in Hindūstān at all, and down to the humblest followers these views had found acceptance. As has been said, nothing would persuade Bābar's closest friend to stay with him, although before his final decision

been composed in Tūrki, they have been preserved in Tūrki in the Persian translation. This may be an act of pious deference. The Memoirs were certainly altogether in Tūrki, but they were not addressed to individuals as were the letters. It is a fact of interest, and open to pleasant interpretation.

was acted on, his master had called a council, and had expressed himself with directness and vigour

‘I told them that empire and conquest could not exist without the material and means of war, that royalty and nobility could not exist without subjects and dependent provinces, that by the labour of many years, after undergoing great hardships, measuring many a toilsome journey, and raising various armies—after exposing myself and my troops to circumstances of great danger, to battle and bloodshed, by the Divine favour I had routed my formidable enemy (Ibrāhīm), and achieved the conquest of numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what force compels, what hardship obliges us, without visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat to Kābul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? Let anyone who calls himself my friend never henceforward make such a proposal, but if there is any among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of return, let him depart. Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purpose.’

After the Rājput defeat the time came for the promised leave, but there is no mention in the Memoirs of a general exodus. Humāyūn went with his Badakhshīs, and also, as he seemed ‘uncomfortable,’ Mahdī¹ Khwāja, Khānzāda’s husband. He, but not only he, had been through one hot season in the plains and another was approaching,—a discomposing fact, and one to wing the fancy and the feet to Kābul. He, however, left his son Ja’far in his government of Etāwa, and returned to India himself in 1528.

Humāyūn said farewell on April 16th, 1527, and betook himself to Dihlī, where he broke open the treasury and

¹ There are difficulties in tracing the descent of this man, which are discussed in the Appendix. Cf. Index, s. n. Muhammad Mahdī

stole its contents. If he had needed money to pay his men, his act might have taken different colour and have been leniently described, but he had had lavish gifts in money and kind from Bābar, and had been allowed to keep the great diamond which the Rānī of Guālīār had given him as the price of family honour and which, there is good ground to believe, is the *Koh-i-nūr*. Treated as he had been, his act was a crime, and base and mean. Perhaps it may be set to the credit of the older Humāyūn that the record of his theft has survived 1553-4 and his then perusal and annotation of his father's Memoirs. By that time he had suffered many painful consequences of his own acts, and may have concurred with his father's judgment on his younger self. Bābar was extremely hurt by his unexpected conduct and reproached him severely. There was enough now known of Humāyūn's character to awaken doubt of his fitness to rule, and to need all his father's great affection to veil and forgive. From Dihlī he returned to Badakhshān, and is next heard of in the autumn of 1528, when he announced the birth of his first born son, Al-amān. Al-amān was the child of that Bega (*Hājī*) Begam of whom the histories all speak, when in 1539 she is captured by Shīr Shāh at Chausa.

Together with the news of Al-amān's birth came that of a marriage of Kāmran with a daughter of Sulṭān 'Alī Begchīk. Bābar sent congratulatory gifts to both sons in response, and he has included his covering letter to Humāyūn in his text. It is frank, fault-finding, and affectionate. It objects to the name given to the child, it urges action. 'The world is his who exerts himself', it objects to Humāyūn's complaints of the remoteness of Badakhshān, and tells him that no bondage is like the bondage of kings, and that it ill becomes him to complain. It attacks Humāyūn's spelling and composition, and ends this topic with words good to quote. 'You certainly do not excel in letter-writing, and you fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show off your acquirements. For the future, write unaffectedly, clearly, and in plain

words, which will give less trouble to writer and reader.' Some remarks about Kamran have a coming interest, Babar faintly praises him as a worthy and correct young man, and enjoins favour for him, without a hint of suspicion that it could ever be in Kamran's power to show favour to Humayun. Humayun also desired to make friends with Khwaja Kilān and with Sultan Wais of Kulab. He failed with the Khwaja, who on Babar's death joined the worthy and correct Kamran. Humayun kept on better terms with Sultan Wais *but laq Mithal* and at a later date owed much to his daughter, the memorable Hatun (Khurram), who stands up in history bold, capable, haughty, and altogether strongly outlined.

Something must now be set down about Babar's third adult son, who was a younger full brother of Kamran and is known in history by his sobriquet of Askari, which indicates a camp as his birthplace. Neither his birth nor Kamran's is mentioned in the Memoirs, as we now have them,—an omission which other sources allow to be explained by their falling in one of the gaps of the book.

Askari was born in 1516 (922H), and during a period of storm and of camp life. His name first occurs in the Memoirs as having presents sent to him after the battle of Pampat, when he is classed with Hindūl, as suited their ages of nine and seven, and they received various gifts, and not, like their two seniors, sums of money. In 1528 he was in Multān, but there is no entry of an appointment, perhaps because it would fall in the gap which extends from April 2nd to September 18th. On the latter day he was received, in home fashion, by his father in his private apartments at Agra, and then, having spent till December 2nd with him, he was furnished with munitions of war for a campaign in the eastern districts. Special injunctions were given to the officers to consult with him as to the conduct of affairs. The interest of these details is their relation to the boy of twelve. Few years were needed in those days to support military command. Humāyūn had gone to Badakhshān at eleven, Babar had been a

fighting king at twelve Boy chiefs were common when fathers were so apt to die by violent means, so were baby figure-heads of armies such as that few-monthed Persian baby who (like an angel's semblance on an ancient battleship) led his father's army for Humāyūn's help in 1544

On December 12th other signs of dignity were bestowed on the boy 'Askarī not only a jewelled dagger, a belt, and royal dress of honour, but the insignia of high command, the standard, horse-tail, and kettle drums, excellent horses, ten elephants, mules and camels, the equipage of a royal camp, and leave to hold a princely court and sit at the head of a hall of state The small boy's mind is clear to us about the horses, for where is the child of twelve whom they would not delight? But what was in it about the elephants? and how did he look when he inspected their bulky line?

He bade farewell to his father on the 21st,—the Emperor being in his bath, a statement which exhales the East,—and after this, though there are many details of his campaigning, nothing of living interest is set down in the Memoirs about him In the future he was Kāmīān's shadow, and displayed a loyalty to mother-blood which was natural under the difficulty of being loyal to Humāyūn, but which made him a Timūrid foe to his house, who initiated nothing and walked always in the bad path marked out for him by the 'worthy and correct' Kāmran

Coming back from this excursion into the future, to the simple topic of Bābar's presents to his children, there can be mentioned a set which is quite delightful in its careful choice and appropriateness It was sent to Kābul in 1528 for Hindāl, and consisted of a jewelled inkstand, a stool inlaid with mother-of-pearl, a short robe of Bābar's own, and an alphabet What could be better for the royal schoolboy of ten?

In 1528 an order was issued which brought about an event of extreme importance to the ladies in Kābul,—namely, that they should migrate to Hindūstān There was delay in the execution of the royal command, and

having regard to the number of ladies, the difference of opinion as to the advisability of going at all, discussion as to the details of the journey, and also remembering that (as the facts about the migration come out in the Memoirs,) there would be many who thought their family interest might be better served by remaining in Kābul, it is not remarkable that there was delay in starting the cavalcade

The migration was amply dictated to many of the party by Bābar's wish to see his own people again, but it is clear that the enforced *leave en masse* of the ladies was a result of considerations of policy and peace The city was full of women who, by birth or marriage, were attached to various branches of the Timūrids, and there was conflict of aims and palpable friction It may well be that Kāmran's government provoked unrest, because he was the son of a mother of less birth than were very many of the resident begams of Kābul

The Emperor was put in full possession of the state of affairs by a letter from Khwāja Kilān which reached him in camp on February 6th, 1528, and which was brought by a servant who, in addition to the written words, gave him all the news of Kābul by word of mouth Bābar replied to the khwāja on February 11th by that letter which those who know the time and writer rank amongst the truly interesting epistles of the world The tenor of the khwāja's own is clear from it, and in part reply the Emperor writes

'You take notice of the unsettled state of Kābul I have considered the matter very attentively and with the best of my judgment, and have made up my mind that in a country where there are seven or eight chiefs, nothing regular or settled is to be looked for I have therefore sent for my sisters and the ladies of my family into Hindūstān, and, having resolved on making Kābul and all the neighbouring countries and districts part of the imperial domain, I have written fully on the subject to Humāyūn and Kāmran Immediately on receiving this letter you will, without loss of time, attend my sisters and the

ladies of my family as far as the Nil-āb (Indus), so that, whatever impediments there may be to their leaving Kābul, they must, at all events, start out within a week after this arrives, for as a detachment has left Hindūstān and is waiting for them, any delay will expose it to difficulty, and the country, too, will suffer'

Who were these seven or eight chiefs in Kābul? Not men! The fighting chiefs were almost all in India, even Mahdī had rejoined the army before the date of this letter. Bābar's word 'sisters' is a guiding light, and it does not altogether exclude the influence of the men who, though in Hindūstān, were in touch with Kābul and its fiction and intrigues. First of sisters was Khānzāda, who had certainly a holding for her support, and who had influence of birth and personal, as having sacrificed herself in her earlier marriage to secure Bābar's safety. She was now the wife of a man, Mahdī Khwāja, who, if the story told of him by the author of the *Tabaqāt* is true even in gist, was such as to suggest him as a possible successor of Bābar to the powerful and sensible Khalifa. There was, since her husband was with Bābar and all great ladies had been left in Kābul, Shahī-bānū, Khānzāda's half-sister, wife of Khalifa's brother, Junaid *Barlās*, and mother of a son. There was also, it is probable, another of 'Umai Shaikh's daughters, Yādgār¹

Besides Bābar's sisters *de facto*, there were others of courtesy. Such was Sulaimān's mother, whose anxieties for his future were, however, about to find happy end by his reinstatement in 1530 in his hereditary government of Badakhshān. There were the families of three men of Timūrid birth, grandsons of Sultān Husain Mīzā *Bāyqāra*,

¹ Of the two others who are the complement in girls of his family, it is safe to say that they were absent. Mihr-bānū was the apparently contented wife of an Uzbek Sultān, and Ruqāya, who, like Mihr bānū, had been spoil of battle and an Uzbek wife, was recently dead. Bābar says she died just when he was making the entries about her parentage at the beginning of the Memoirs. This can hardly have been before 1528, because an appointment mentioned on the same page is recorded on its occurrence as made in 1528.

all of whom were in India, and all of whom were men of high pretension. They were,—Muhammad Sultān Mirzā, the arch rebel of the future, Qasim Husain Sultān Mirzā, son of an Uzbek father, and Muhammad zaman Mirzā, son of Husain's son, Badī' u z zaman. There were in Kābul the people of Yādgar nasir also Babar's half-nephew. These instances will suffice to show the reality of the elements of unrest which conflicting family interests and jealousies might and did foment in Kābul: they do not include the many others furnished by Bābar's personal circle and by his numerous and influential aunts.

Two Timurid ladies, Iakhr-jahan and Khadija, both paternal aunts of the Emperor, had gone to Hindustan so early as November, 1527. With whom they went or why they went is not recorded. The first was the wife of a Tirmidzi, a vivid member of a religious family with which royal alliance was frequent, and she would find relations of her husband in the army. The second, Khadija, has no man mentioned as her husband, an omission by Bābar and Gulbadan which surprises, and which the chance word of another writer may easily fill up. Perhaps these aunts joined their nephew in response to his invitation of April, 1526, that kinsfolk and friends would come and see prosperity with him. They brought their children, and were met outside the city by Bābar on November 23rd, and by him conducted in a lucky hour to their assigned palace¹ in Āgra.

Iakhr-jahan and Khadija stayed eleven months and were bidden good-bye before their return journey to Kābul on September 20th, 1528. After all, Khadija did not go, having affairs of her own to detain her, and this delay allowed the Emperor to pay her another of the Friday calls which he habitually made, during the time of his

¹ Readers who are interested in the Turki and Persian texts of the Memoirs, will like to have attention drawn to the fact of there being a record of this episode in one of the fragments attached to Iakhr's MS., and that this varies in detail from his text and from the Persian source of the Memoirs.

occupation of Hindūstān, on his elder kinswomen. On the 17th three sisters of Fakhr-jahān and Khadija arrived in the suburbs and were welcomed. From all these Bābar could hear the news and gossip of Kābul, and thus add to the impressions which led to his order for the begams to join him in India.

Apopos of the aunts of frequent mention, it may be said that both Bābar and Haidar convey the opinion that deference to elder women was a permanent trait of their age and set. Comings and goings of aunts are set down, houses and incomes provided, advice is sought, troubles are carried to them for sympathy, they are ambassadors of peace, then nephews vie with one another as to who shall entertain them, in short, both the *Tūzūh* and the *Tārīkh* indicate distinct deference to women of an elder generation.

A good deal about the exodus of the ladies can be gleaned from Bābar and from our princess, who now comes on the scene in her small person of five or six. The order for it was given at latest in 1528, this is clear from the royal letter to the khwāja and from the fact that Māham started in January, 1529. Bābar heard on March 22nd that all had really left Kābul, which news, taken with the arrival of the main cavalcade three months after her, suggests that Māham started first and travelled quickly, as being of a small company, and that the rest set off in detachments, as they and then transport were ready. The whole party would get off between January 21st and the end of February, this can be surmised, because the letter of March 22nd would be about a month in reaching Bābar. Most of the journey would be made by horse-litter, and some perhaps by *palki* with bearers. Men frequently dropped down the Kābul River on rafts, being thus able to do in twelve hours what ten marches covered, but one cannot suppose the ladies would make this adventurous journey, which was attended by risk even when people did not fall off the raft after potations, as some of Bābar's companions had done. Probably the road taken was that by But-khāk (Dust of Idols) and Jagdalik, and by Jalālābād

and the Khaibar, but there is no certainty, because there is no information

Gul-badan travelled with Māham in advance of her sisters, and thus had experiences all her own and a reception by her father unalloyed by numbers. Her liveliness would while away the tedium of the five months' travel, and help to distract Māham's sad thoughts from the loss of Fārūq, her youngest born. Unfortunately, she sets down nothing about the journey until near its end. Letters between the Emperor and the travellers were frequent. One of the couriers, named Shirak (Little Lion), who was despatched by him on March 5th, carried not only letters to Māham, but was entrusted with a copy of the Memoirs which had been made to send to Samarqand¹

On April 1st, and at Ghāzīpūr, Bābar heard that the ladies had been met at the Indus on February 19th by their military escort under his master-of-horse, and by this amīr convoyed to the Chanāb. This might fitly be told of Māham's party, for there are other records of covering the distance to the Indus in about a month.

On the 22nd a servant of Māham brought letters to Arrah from her whom he had left at the Garden of Purity (*Bāgh-i-safā*), near Pind-dādan Khān, and this is the last such entry. Māham reached Agra on June 27th, and Bābar met her outside the city at midnight.

Gul-badan gives amusing particulars of her own arrival, all of which she shall be left to tell. She followed Māham into Agra on the 28th, not having been allowed to travel with her through the previous night. Then she saw her father. Of him she can have kept only a dim memory, and it is likely enough she would stand in some awe of him and his deeds, but no word he has written suggests that a

¹ This is the earliest recorded copying of the Tūrkī text. This Samarqand MS and its descendants (if any) may have been written up subsequently, but the points of this early transmission to Central Asia of a copy and the variations of the Russian texts from those found in India, are worth consideration. There is an unexplored MS in Bukhārā of high reputation.

child needed to fear him, and she soon experienced 'happiness such that greater could not be imagined' Happy child! and happy father, too! who recovered such a clever and attractive little daughter It is not only her book that lets us know she had a lively mind, but the fact of its composition at an age when wits are apt to be rusted by domestic peace Only a light that was strong in childhood would have burned so long to guide her unaccustomed pen after half a century of life, and only a youth of happy thoughts and quick perceptions have buoyed her, still gay and vivacious, across the worries and troubles of Humāyūn's time

There were pleasant days after the coming to Āgra, when Bābā took Māham, and the child also, to see his works at Dholpūr and Sikrī He had always been a builder and a lover of a view, a maker of gardens and planter of trees Much of the scenery of his new location displeased him, he thought the neighbourhood of Āgra 'ugly and detestable' and 'repulsive and disgusting,' words which do not now link well with that Āgra which he and his line have made the goal of the pilgrim of beauty It is difficult to go back in fancy to the city without a Tāj, with no Sikundia near and with Sikrī uncrowned

Dholpūr and Sikrī had much to show of work done by the orders of the Emperor,—'my royal father,' as Gulbadan generally calls him, using the home word *bābā* invariably At Sikrī, amongst other buildings, was that in which she says he used to sit and write his book, *i e*, the *Tūzūk* There, too, the great battle which had been fought in 1527 will not have been ignored to ears so sympathetic as Māham's Perhaps here the little gul first learnt dimly what it was to be a Ghāzī, and to fight on the side of Heaven She says that when these excursions had been made, and three months after her own arrival had sped by, the begams, with Khānzāda as their chief, came within meeting distance of the capital, and that the Emperor went out to welcome them There is nothing of this in the Memoirs, which are silent after the arrival

of Māham as to the doings of the royal ladies The reunion was soon to be clouded by anxieties and loss

A brief return in the story of Humāyūn must be made here In the summer of 1529 he heard in Badakhshān of his father's failing health, and, without asking leave, set off for India He passed through Kābul, and there, to Kāmīān's surprise, met him, who had just come up from Ghaznī The two conferred, and persuaded the ten-years-old Hindāl, who was under orders for Āgra, to take up the government of Badakhshān Humāyūn then continued his march, and arrived in Āgra without announcement to his father

He came to the presence just when, by a coincidence which Māham may have helped to bring about, his parents were talking of him It would be natural for the mother, who cannot have been ignorant of her son's coming, to stir gentle thoughts of him and to warm his father's heart towards him before they met, and by this to break the shock of the unpermitted absence from duty

Bābar was greatly angered by the desertion, which in truth placed Badakhshān in difficulty by withdrawing both troops and control Its consequences were important, and caused him profound regret To stand fast across the mountains and to push out the royal holdings beyond the Oxus from the vantage-ground of Badakhshān was a cherished dream, and one which he had taken steps through both Humāyūn and Kāmran to realize He wished Humāyūn to return to his post, but the latter, while saying he must go if ordered, was not willing to leave his people again Bābar then asked Khalifa to go, but this request was evaded, and there is much to arouse surmise that Khalifa saw in it the act of someone who wished him absent from the scene of crisis now foreseen as near In his objection to leave Āgra, affection for his old master would be a natural factor, another was his own supreme influence, the sequel of his character and of Bābar's recent failure in health, and springing from his power was, perhaps the dominant factor of his objection to leave,—a

disposition to supplant Humāyūn in the succession by a ruler of less doubtful character

The fate of Badakhshān was decided by its bestowal on its hereditary chief, Sulaimān Mīzā, *Mīzān-shāhī*, now a boy of sixteen, while Humāyūn's youthful *locum tenens* was ordered to come to India. Humāyūn betook himself to the idle enjoyments of his *jāgīr* of Sambhal, and was there, in a few months, attacked by illness which threatened life and which led to the remarkable episode of Bābar's self-sacrifice to save him. The narrative of this stands in all the histories and need not be repeated, but for the sake of making our princess' details clear, it is as well to state what was the rite performed by Bābar.

There was and is in the East belief that if offering be made of the thing most precious to the suppliant, and if the offering be accepted, Heaven will give the life of a sick man in exchange. The rite observed is simple: first prayer of intercession is made, then the suppliant walks three times round the sick man's bed. Of Bābar's sincerity there is no doubt, in mind and heart he gave himself, he felt conviction that, after the cuncts, he had borne away the illness. Humāyūn was restored and Bābar died,—a return from the gate of death and an entry there which might have occurred without Bābar's rite, but none the less was the self-sacrifice complete because he believed in its efficacy and was willing to die.

His health worsened rapidly after this and he made ready to go. Marriages were arranged for Gul-rang and Gul-chihra, the amīrs were addressed, Humāyūn was counselled and named to the succession. Bābar died on December 26th, 1530. 'Black fell the day,' says his daughter, 'we passed that ill-fated day each in a hidden corner.'

The question of Khalifa's wish to supersede Humāyūn is of great interest. It is written of by Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, in the *Tabaqāt*, who had the story he retails from his father, Muqīm, an old retainer of the Court. Abū'l-fazl repeats the main statement, which is that Khalifa had had

thoughts of superseding Humāyūn by Muhammad Mahdī Khwāja, the husband of Khānzāda Begam ¹

A few of the many points involved in Nizāmu-d-dīn's story find fitting entry here. Bābar must have been long conscious of the fact that he was not so strong as before he faced the Indian climate, he did not send for Humāyūn, he wished him to leave when he came unasked, he had 'Askarī in the full dignity of a commander near him, as he lay dying, he was fretfully anxious for Hindul's coming, he and Khalifa were friends of many years' testing, both knew the faults of Humāyūn, if Khalifa had planned to set the latter aside, it is likely that the thought was not altogether absent from the mind of Bābar, it is not credible that Khalifa should have regarded a supersession as practicable, if he had no acquaintance with the Emperor's doubts as to Humāyūn, and without knowing that these were shared by others than his master and himself, for the nomination would be made by Bābar and to his chiefs

Muhammad Mahdī Khwāja is one of those men about whose birth and descent particulars are looked for with the sure hope of success in the search. Yet nothing is said on the topic by Bābar or by Gul-badan. When he first appears on the scene (in the Persian version, and presumably also in the Elphinstone text), he is not introduced, as it is customary for Bābar to introduce, with some few words indicating family. This omission may be a result of forgetfulness bred of familiarity, or it may be, and most probably is, that he himself first met Muhammad Mahdī at a date which falls in one of the gaps of his book ²

Nizāmu-d dīn's statements must have some corn of truth, and they imply that by birth, as well as by marriage and

¹ Neither of the sources thus describes Mahdī, but a somewhat full consideration of the several Mahdīs of the time allows no other than the husband of Khānzāda to be understood by the name Mahdī Khwāja of the two sources. Cf Appendix, s n Muhammad Mahdī

² This omission, and perhaps some others, are straws pointing to the existence, at some time, of material which would fill the gaps

military rank, Mahdī was a man who, without outrage, might be raised still higher. There are hints which make it seem probable that he was a Tirmīzī sayyid and the son of a Tīmūrid mother. The suggestion of Tirmīzī parentage is supported by the burial of Abū'l-ma'ālī *Tīmīzī* in the place of interment of Mahdī and Khānzāda.¹

It has suggested itself to me as possible that Khalifa's plan of superseding Humāyūn was meant to apply only to Hindūstān, or at least to a part of Bābar's dominions. Abū-sa'id had partitioned his lands amongst his sons, provinces so varied as Bābar's seem to demand division even more than his grandfather's had done. We look back to Bābar across Akbar's Indian Empire, and may not give sufficient weight to the fact that Dihlī and Āgra were not the centre or the desired heart of Bābar's. He wanted Farghāna and Samargand and much more beyond the Oxus, and he had taken decisive steps towards securing his object through both his elder sons, and had given them charge and work of extension in those countries. Kābul was the true centre of his desired empire, and to force the Uzbeks back in widening circle was his persistent wish.

If Mahdī or any other competent man had ruled in Dihlī, by whatever tenure, this would not necessarily have

¹ It is singular that both Khalifa and Mahdī disappear from prominent place with the death of Bābar. From Gulbadan it is known that the latter was living at the time of Humāyūn's marriage with his sister Sultānām in 1537, because she names his gifts to the bridegroom. A good deal of search has failed to disclose other particulars of action or death of either man after Humāyūn's accession. Khalifa's brother, Junaid (like Mahdī, a brother in law of Bābar), fought faithfully for Humāyūn till his recorded death. Khalifa was older than Junaid, and the impression given by the early part of the Memoirs is that he was older than Bābar. The difficulty of the obvious interpretation of the silence about Khalifa's later life is, that he withdrew support from Mahdī's promotion, and it is distinctly said of Humāyūn by Badāyūnī that he was made emperor by the concurrence of Khalifa. So there would be no ground for a conspiracy of courtly silence about him. He was probably dead before the exile of the Tīmūrids from India in 1540, because his wife Sultānām was with the royal household, and made her pilgrimage shortly after the exodus to Sind.

ruined Humāyūn, or have taken from him the lands most coveted by Bābar. All Bābar's plans and orders were such as to keep Humāyūn beyond the Hindū-kush, and to take him across the Oxus. The dislike of the royal army to Hindūstān was a large factor in the question of centralizing government there, and so too would be the temptations to indolence afforded by its climate and customs, to which it was easy to foresee from Humāyūn's life in Sambhal that he would readily succumb.

Kābul was made an imperial domain by Bābar's written command to both elder sons, and his own words leave one in doubt as to his further intentions about it. To whom Hindūstān would have been given if Humāyūn had obeyed orders and had held fast in Badakhshān, there is nothing to show, but weight is due to the gist of the story of the supersession. Kāmrān declared that Kābul was given to his mother Gul ruh, and Humāyūn gave it in fief to Kāmrān at his accession. There is mist over the scene from which only the accomplished facts emerge. Humāyūn came to India, he was Māham's son, she was there, Khalīfa let Mahdī fall, Humāyūn's personal charm reasserted itself over Bābar's anger, and he became Emperor of Hindūstān and all the imperial domains.

Child though Gul-badan was at her father's death, she must have been impressed by the events that preceded it. Alwar's death, her own accident at Sikrī, her father's premonitions and dervish-moods, Humāyūn's sudden arrival and the anger it caused, his illness and the dread for his life, her father's awe-inspiring rite and its bewildering success, her sisters' marriages, which could not be joyful, the haunting suspicion of poison, the end and the blank,—all too much for so short a time in strange scenes and in a disabling climate.

Following the death came the forty days of mourning, and of good works and gifts at the tomb in the Garden of Rest at Āgra. Sikrī furnished a part of the endowment for its readers and reciters, and Māham sent them food twice daily from her own estate. The tomb was put under

the guardianship of a man whom our begam calls Khwāja Muhammad 'Alī 'asas (night-guard), and who may be he that 'never killed a sparrow,' and may be Māham's brother. If so, he will be heard of again under other and widely different circumstances in 1547. As is well known, Bābar's body was conveyed to Kābul, and there laid to rest in the spot chosen by himself.)

SECTION II — UNDER HUMĀYŪN

In Bābar's history the man holds the interest and lifts the eyes over his shortcomings to his excellence. No character demanding admiration attracts interest to Humāyūn, but yet his story is one which it needs a master-hand to unfold. A Tolstoi could depict his faults and merits, his qualities and defects rolled a tide of retribution over him and those bound to him as surely and visibly as it does over Anna Karenine and her associates. From the historic standpoint, Mr Erskine has told the tale in a way to hold his readers, and it befits this humble introduction to build up only such framework as will support details, some of which concern the ladies of the time, and others of which may interest readers who are not Orientalists.

In order to realize how fully the fate of the ladies was involved in that of the Emperor, it must be remembered that his occupation of Hindūstān was unrooted, military and the sport of war. When we in Britain have to lament a reverse of arms, we do it in safe homes and we brace ourselves to what will come next, in the familiar surroundings of the daily tradesman, the usual postman, and the trivial comforts of the hearth. Even Colonials had a refuge under the flag at measurable distance from their outraged homes in 1899-1900. But when the Timūrids were defeated in 1539-40, and driven from Āgra and Dihli and Lāhōr, there was no refuge open to all. Their head, Humāyūn, had none, a brother took his last. Like the Israelites, he and his followers then wandered in deserts and hungered and thirsted, dwelt in strange lands,

pursued and attacked, exiled and humiliated. The course of events was less historic than biographical, was individual and not national. There were no nations behind Bībar and Humīvūn; there were only ruling families who came and went as they could or could not get the upper hand of other houses; and there was the dumb mass whom the earth nourished and labour of whom fed in luxury of life and strength of alien arms whatever dynasty had just struck hardest.

home conference about it, and about the murder in his name, but not by his act, of Humāyūn's favourite, Shaikh Bahlūl Gul-badan, like the good sister she was, makes excuses for her brother, and those who have not her bias of affection, can add others and stronger Hindāl was nineteen, a good and successful young general, he was supported by men of rank and age, some of whom had come from Gau, and had seen Humāyūn's army perishing in that sink of fever and corruption, and Humāyūn buried within its walls. There was no ruler in Hindūstān, Shīr Shāh was between Humāyūn and the capital. The 'mīnzās' were lifting up their heads again, and a chief was needed. Hindāl was perhaps always the best of Bābar's sons in character, and certainly so when Humāyūn had become the changeling of opium. He had the Friday prayer (*khutba*) read in his own name, and on his behalf, Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad, a son-in-law of Bābar and grandson of Sultān Husain Bāyqā, murdered Shaikh Bahlūl. The motive of the crime appears to have been desire to place the death as an impassable barrier between the royal brothers.

The news of Hindāl's rebellion stirred Humāyūn to move from Gau. His march to Āgra was broken off tragically by the rout at Chausa, where he lost 8,000 of his best Tūrki troops by sword or river. Here Ma'sūma was widowed, and here a terrible blank was made in the royal household by the loss of several women. Bega's (Hājī Begam) capture is known to all the histories, and so, too, is her return to Humayun. Shīr Shāh promised safety to all women found in the camp, and there is no reason to doubt that he did his best for them. But there had been fighting round their tents before his guards arrived, and some of Humāyūn's amīrs had perished in trying to defend them. It came about that there were losses of women and of children as to whose fate no word was ever heard again. Amongst them was 'Āyisha Bāyqā, the wife of Qāsim-Husain Sultān Mirzā. The next name in our begam's list takes us far back. It is that of Bachaka, a head-woman servant (*khālifa*), and one such and so

named had escaped from Samarqand with Bābar's mother in 1501. The one lost at Chausa had been a servant in Babar's household, and may have been she of the memorable siege. Next are named two children, a foster child and Bega's 'Aqqa of six years old. Two of Humāyūn's wives of low degree also disappeared.

When Humayun had been rescued from the river by a lowly water-carrier, he made way to Āgra, and there had a conversation with Gul-badan about the loss of 'Aqqa. The princess was then seventeen years old, and a comment of his, which she sets down, lets it be known that she is now a married woman. Humayun told her he did not recognise her at first, because when he went away with the army (1537) she wore the *tāq*, and now wears the *lachel*. The *tāq* is a cap, and the *lachel*,—a wife's coiffure—is a kerchief folded crossways, tied under the chin by two corners, and capable of much more elaboration and ornament than this simple description would lead one to suppose. This is Gul-badan's nearest approach to informing her readers of her marriage, and she never mentions her husband as such. He was her second cousin, Khizr Khwaja Khan, *Chaghlatār Mughal*, and of the line of the Great Khans. His father was Yaman Khwaja, and his mother a cousin of Haidar Mirza *Dughlat*. One ancestor was that Yunas whose fate as a chief of nomads was in such entertaining contrast to his taste as a lover of cities and books. Khizr had many other noteworthy kinsfolk, but to tell of them would lead too far afield. It is useful, however, to say that Gul-rang and Gul-chihra had married two of his uncles, and that his brother Yasim (Hasim or Ais) dāulat, the Fair Sultan, became the husband of Kāmran's Habiba. He had two other brothers in India, namely, Mahdi and Mas'ud. Their father and one at least of them came from Kāshghar to Āgra just after the death of Bābar.

Shortly after this interview Humāyūn took the field against Shīr Shāh, and Kāmran, deserting his post, left Āgra and led off his 12,000 troopers towards Lāhōr. Under

his escort went an immense convoy of women and helpless people, and he wished to take Gul-badan also. She was extremely unwilling to go and only partially resigned herself when she saw that it was Humāyūn's will. She bewailed herself as parting from those with whom she had grown up, and no uninitiated reader could guess that she was going with her father's son. She was a clever and attractive girl whose society was welcome to all her brothers, but in Kāmīān's wish to take her now there is something more. It is possible that he who liked her, thought of her safety, it is probable that, as he had attached two of her husband's brothers, Yasīn-daulat and Mahdī, and perhaps the third, Mas'ūd, he desired to have Khizr too. Gul-badan's departure from the home circle was perhaps her first adventure into the foreign world as a married woman. By going when she did and under the escort of Kāmīān's strong force, she was spared a terrible journey which her mother and the rest of the royal party made under care of Hindāl, with foes in front and behind, and at great peril.

There now followed that amazing battle at Kanauj, in which 40,000 men in armour fled, without a gun fired, before 10,000. Here again, as at Chausa, the deaths in the river were appalling, and here again the Emperor was saved by a lowly man. Again the remnant made its way to Āgra, but, says Haidar, 'we made no tarry, broken and disputed, in a state heart-rending to tell, we went on to Lāhōr.' Their road took them to Sikrī, of which the memories and witness to Bābar's genius for living must have rubbed salt into the wounds of their spirit. Many ladies had remained in Āgra, and Humāyūn spoke to Hindāl of the difficulty of getting them safe to Lāhōr, and confessed that he had often regretted not killing 'Aqīqa with his own hand. Hindāl combated the suggestion, born of defeat, that a mother and sisters should be killed, and himself fought his way through country folk and Afghāns, and convoyed them safe to Lāhōr.

Here was a mighty gathering of Timūrids and their

following and five months slipped by in uncertain counsels and fruitless talk. The four brothers met often to discuss plans and it seems that the emptiness of this in practical result lay in what was in the mind of Kāmran and made him object to every course proposed. He wished to make terms for himself with the daily approaching victor, and to keep Lāhōr and the Panjab, but if this could not be, he meant to hold fast to Kabul and keep Humayun out of it. The tie of Kabul had been granted to him by Humayun. Humayun therefore could resume it. That he would now do so was Kāmran's expectation, so, when Humayun proposed to go to Badakhshan, Kāmran would not hear of it, because the road thither lay through Kabul, and once in that beloved city, it was highly improbable that Humayun would move further.

On October 30th, 1540, something decisive had to be done, for Shīr Shāh had crossed the Biah and might appear at any hour. 'It was like the Day of Resurrection,' says our princess, the confusion was extreme, and, like the simile, impossible for us to realize. It has been said that 200,000 souls left Lāhōr in flight on that day, an overtax of all resources of transport.

Happily for the fugitives, the Ravi was fordable, but the Chanab required boats and the Jehlam was in flood. Many episodes unfolded themselves in the *duāb* of the Ravi and Chanab. Haidar Mirza took his departure for Kashmir, hoping to secure in it a royal retreat, Hindal and Yūdgarnāsir deserted and went south for Multan, Humayun was urged to put further mischief out of Kāmran's power by his death, he refused,—a refusal which would be upheld in the *haram*, ever faithful to the injunctions of Bibi, and knowing these better than the real risks caused by Kāmran's disloyalty. Penetrating everything was the irritation aroused by Kāmran's opposition to the royal march for Kabul,—irritation which diffused itself and barely missed a sequel of bloodshed.

The depression and gloom of the men who were the responsible leaders of the fugitive mob must have been

deep and painful, but what was in the minds of then dependents,—the ordinary troopers, the helpless women, the comfortless children, and the camp-followers?

There were many striking scenes in the lives of Babar and Humāyūn, but none more dramatic than that in which the latter's flight through the Panjāb ended. A little west of the Thelam, at Khushāb, the road runs through a ravine of an outlying spur of the Salt Range. Beyond this it forks, north-west for Kābul and south-west for Sind. Kāmran asserted his intention to enter the defile first, perhaps with the object of closing the Kābul road. Humāyūn insisted on his right to take precedence, and blows threatened between their followers. Mediation was made by Abū'l-baqā, the man who had led Bābar to offer himself for his son in 1530. He directed Humāyūn's attention to the superior force of Kāmran, and he told Kāmran that it was the right of Humāyūn to take precedence. In the end Humāyūn marched first and took the southern road. At the fork of the ways each commander and many a man must have made or confirmed his choice between the brothers. And so the mighty caravan split itself, and followed Kāmran and 'Ashkarī or Humayun.

With the Kabul section many women went to the safer asylum. They had no choice to make where the roads parted, but those of them who saw their litters turn southwards and themselves carried by a strange road, of which they knew that it took them from the old home in Kābul, must have had some bitter feelings about their destiny. I believe Gul-badan went with Kāmran. She does not say so, but it comes out with tolerable clearness incidentally. Her mother, Dil aar, had gone with Hindal to Multan, and with her was Humida-banu, Akbar's mother to be. Khānzada seems to have gone with Humayun, for her niece mentions her later as an ambassador from him in Sind to Qandahar. No other writer speaks of this embassy, I think, but most tell of her other, made later from Kābul to Qandahar in the service of peace between Kāmran and

Humāyūn, after the latter had returned from his Persian exile (1545)

Khizī is not mentioned as with Humāyūn in the desert wanderings, but he was in Qandahār with 'Askarī in 1545. On the occasion of her reunion with Humāyūn in Kābul, in 1545, Gul-badan says that there had been a 'toil and moil of separation' lasting five years. The *lustium* points to a farewell said at the Jhelam. One thing makes for her having gone with the royal party, and this is her lively account of what befell it, but she is equally lively about Persia, where she certainly did not go. She had excellent opportunity of hearing what went on in Sind because she met her mother again in 1543, after she had come to Kābul from Qandahār. She also met Hamīda in 1545, and could hear from her not only about her wedding, concerning which she has such an excellent passage, but also about her visit to Persia. There was ample and easy opportunity for the two old companions to talk over the past and to refresh their memories when the book was being written in and after 1587 and when they were comfortably installed as the beloved and respected 'Beneficent Ladies' of Akbar. Moreover, Gul-badan has a note of acknowledgment to Khwāja Kīshī for help derived from his writings, as to the early part of the royal wanderings. There is therefore nothing to contradict the probability that she continued under Kāmran's protection from 1540, the date of her unwilling departure from Āgra, till 1545, when Humāyūn took Kābul.

During the *lustium* in which she did not see Humāyūn, his adventures were too many and too remarkable for abbreviation in these pages. Mr. Erskine has told them with evident enjoyment, and Gul-badan supplements his narrative with some material he did not use, it may be interjected here that he had no knowledge of her book. For most of the period of the exile in Sind and Persia, Hamīda was a good authority, and more than once Gul-badan has prefaced a statement with 'Hamīda-bānū Begam says' She was one in the cruel desert march to Umarkot, it will have been from her that the princess heard that

Akbar's birthplace was a beautiful spot where food was very cheap, she was one of the little band which fled from Quetta, she shared the qualified hospitality of the Persian king, and, it should be said, reproduced only a sense of good treatment by him, and she came back to Qandahār with his auxiliary army

In Kābul Gul-badan did not want for old friends and kinswomen. She had her own home occupations and her children to look after, of these, though she names one only, Sa'adat-yāi, she may have had several, but there is no definite statement as to which of Khizr's children were also hers. She was not unkindly treated by Kāmīān, as were the other royal ladies whom he turned out of their usual homes and exploited in purse. Indeed, he wished to regard her as one of his own family and to distinguish between her and her mother, but of this she would not hear.

In 1543 she had again the society of Hindāl who, after losing Qandahār to Kāmīān, came as a prisoner upon parole to Kābul and his mother's house. The movements of Humāyūn were made known from Sind to Kābul with speed and completeness, and the news was acted on to Humāyūn's great detriment. There were domestic reasons why Shāh Husain Arghūn should not be well disposed to Humāyūn, besides the substantial one of the latter's entry and long occupation of his country. Of the more intimate causes of ill-will one was inherited, Bābāi had dispossessed the Arghūns from both Kābul and Qandahār, and not only so, but had given in marriage to his foster-brother Qāsim an Arghūn girl, Māh-chūchak, daughter of Muqīm Mīrzā. This was a great offence, because it was a misalliance in Arghūn eyes and because it was enforced and the bride was spoil of battle. The story of her anger and of her rebellion at her fate is delightfully told by Mr Erskine, and to his pages readers may be safely referred for the sequel of my brief allusion to it.

When Qāsim *lūka* died, Māh-chūchak married her cousin, Shāh Husain, and she was with him during Humāyūn's miserable stay-in Sind.

Another cause of friction lay in the presence of a former wife of Husain with Humayūn's household. In 1521 Husain had allied himself with Khalifa's family by marrying his daughter Gul-barg. As the fact adds to the domestic complication, it may be mentioned that at the same time Husain's stepdaughter, Nahīd, the child of Q̄sim and Mīh chuchak, married Khalifa's son, Muhibb 'ah. Husain and Gul-barg (Rose leaf) did not get on well, and she left him after what Mir Masum calls two years of wedded life. She then, says the same author, went to India with Jannat āshiqānī (Humayun) 'previous to the *utrat*'. This last word is frequently used of the rout at Chausa in 1539, but the next nearest catastrophe to which it would apply after 1521 is the death of Babar, because Gul-barg is named by Gul-badan in Humayun's household shortly after his accession. She was with him in Sind in 1511 onwards, and so, too, was Sultānam,¹ who was perhaps her mother, and both were unlikely to make the best of Shah Husain to Humayūn.

In 1515 Kabul heard that Humayun was on his way back from Persia with the Shah's army behind him. A first result of this was to bring the little Akbar within reach of Khānzāda and to her charge. All the histories tell of his wintry journey from Qandahar taken with Bakhshī-bānū, the one being under three and the other about four. Their coming adds a touch of tenderness to the historic Khānzāda, who paces through the histories sad and wise and trusted. She kissed the baby feet and hands of Akbar, and declared they were the very hands and feet of Babar, and that he was like him altogether. Her first marriage with Shaibānī had been made to save Babar from captivity or death. She was divorced because suspected of leaning to his side when his interests conflicted with her husband's, and she had been restored to him (1511) when she was about thirty-

¹ The presence of Sultānam here, and a royal permission allowed to her to go to Makka and take her daughter also, gives the impression that Khalifa is dead.

three years old¹ To the reader's fancy she wears a mourning garb, she is mentioned with deference, and is a dignified figure in the turmoil of her day Her third marriage,—she was doubly widowed at Merv,—takes an impersonal colour, as an alliance which her age, story and loss of her only son make seem rather one contracted to confer honour and afford her a safe home, than on any ground of personal affection She bore Maḥdī no child, she adopted his sister Sulṭānam at the age of two, and reared her to become the wife of Hindāl

By March 21st Humāyūn was besieging Qandahār, and he then sent an envoy to Kābul, who would be a welcome guest as teller of the events since Humāyūn had left Quetta in 1543 This was Bairām Khān *Bahārlū*, and with him went Bāyazīd *bīyāt* Bairām saw Akbar, and could take back to Hamīda news of his welfare, and also a number of princes who were kept in Kābul under Kāmīān's eye These were Hindāl, Yādgār-nāsir, some of the 'mūzās,' Sulaimān, Ḥaṣam and Ibrāhīm

Bairām spent six weeks waiting till Kāmīān should choose his course now that he knew his brother was the stronger, and when he left the city, he was accompanied by Khānzāda, charged to mollify Humāyūn and smooth the way for 'Askarī when the latter should submit She went into Qandahār, but her presence did not bring about the immediate surrender, and the weary siege carried on its burden of suffering Many of the amīrs of the defence began to slip away, the two Khīzrs, *Hazāra* and *Chaghatai*, dropped themselves over the wall The first got away to the mountains with adventures which fit a Highland setting, the second sought Humāyūn and obtained forgiveness

Qandahār was surrendered on September 31d, and 'Askarī and his amīrs came out with swords hung round their

¹ The date of her return by Shāh Isma'īl to Bābar in 1511 falls in one of the long gaps (eleven years) of the Memoirs This covers also, it is probable, Bābar's first association with Maḥdī and the latter's marriage with Khānzāda

executioner was found, and the mīrzā ' was relieved of the pains of existence '

Humāyūn took 'Askarī with him as a precautionary measure Of the ladies, Māh-chūchak went, and in attendance, Bibī Fāṭima, the chief armed woman of his haram and mother of Zuhra, whom Hamīda's brother was to marry and murder Near Khīshm Humāyūn fell alarmingly ill and lay unconscious for four days He had nurses at hand whose excellence is attested by the annals, and it adds life to the scene to know that the long watch over the unconscious man was broken by his opening his eyes just when Māh-chūchak was dropping pomegranate-juice into his mouth He recovered, but it was a perilous time for him and his supremacy, and had a bad sequel

News of the illness went to Sind, and Kāmran, reinforced by his father-in-law, Husam, hurried up and seized Kābul Winter was at its depth on the passes, and the amīrs with the royal force were anxious to get back to protect their families They had premonitions that he would take the city again, and many slipped away in small parties and went to Kābul, where they found all their anticipations and dread justified It does not seem right to stigmatize their leaving Humāyūn as traitorous, they had their own people to save, and this might be done by slight show of submission to Kāmran No one can consider Humāyūn a man who had claim to fidelity when the lives and honour of wives and children were in the balance Indeed, to have left Kābul under the charge of Muhammad 'Alī was to court disaster, and to make reasonable a good deal of independence of action in those whose unarmed people he could not protect

Every fear of the amīrs was justified On his northward march Kāmran passed through Ghaznī, where Zahīd Beg was governor He it was who when offered a Bengal appointment in 1538, had asked Humāyūn if he could not find another place to kill him in He had not waited for a reply, but had left Bengal, and helped Hīndāl to rebel in Āgra Kāmran now answered his question in Ghaznī, and after this murder hurried off towards Kābul 'It was

morning, and the Kābulīs were off their guard, and grass-cutters and water-carriers were going in and out as usual. Mirzā Kāmran went in with all these common people. So speaks the princess. The gentle-hearted governor was at the *hamām*, and was brought before Kāmiān, without time given to dress, and there and then sabied. The list of other cruelties and murders is too terrible reading for these pages, and the ensuing siege was full of barbarous acts. Humāyūn crossed the passes as soon as it was practicable, and sat down to take the city. When Kāmiān saw at length that he could not hold it, he escaped through a hole fashioned in the wall, got through the trenches and away to the mountains. Some say Hindāl let him pass the royal lines, others that Hājī Muhammad Khān *kūka* overtook him later (so destitute that he was being carried by a man), and that Kāmiān appealed to their milk-brotherhood and was allowed to go free. He then joined his hereditary foes, the Uzbegs.

❶ In 1548 Humāyūn entered upon a campaign in Badakhshān which yielded interesting personal matters, such as this rivulet of the great stream of affairs can convey. He left Kābul on June 12th, and Hamīda bore him company with Akbar as far as Gul bihār. As governor this time a soldier, and a man enraged against Kāmiān, was left in charge of Kābul. The campaign culminated in the capture of Tāliqān, which was made over on August 17th by Kāmran, who was allowed to go to the refuge of all whose presence was undesired at home, Makka. Piety had no part in Kāmran's intention to betake himself to the holy city, and when he had heard, with incredulous ears, that Humāyūn was meting out mercy without justice to the revolted amīrs he had captured, he took heart and himself asked forgiveness. It is almost incredible, and would be quite so if one did not know Humāyūn, that he was received with kettle drums, trumpets, tears and pardon. Certainly Humāyūn never deprived himself of the luxury of tears and the loose rein on his feelings. So wonderful was the following scene that Mr Erskine's words shall tell

it 'When Kāmīrān approached the Emperor, who was sitting in state in the pavilion of public audience, he took a whip from the girdle of Mu'nim Khān, who stood by, and passing it round his neck, presented himself as a criminal "Alas, alas!" exclaimed the Emperor, "there is no need of this, throw it away" The mīrzā made three obeisances, according to the usual etiquette of the Court, after which the Emperor gave him the formal embrace and commanded him to be seated. Kāmīrān began to make excuses for his past conduct and to express his regret "What is past is past," said the Emperor "Thus far we have conformed to ceremony, let us now meet as brothers" They then rose and clasped each other to their breasts in the most affectionate manner, and both burst into tears, sobbing aloud, so as to affect all present. Humāyūn, on resuming his seat, desired his brother to sit next to him on the left, the place of honour, adding kindly in Tūrkī, the language of the family, "Sit close to me" A cup of sherbet was brought, of which the Emperor, having drunk one half, handed it to his brother, who drank the other. A grand entertainment followed, at which the four brothers (also Sulaimān), who now met for the first time after a long separation, sat on the same carpet and dined, or, to use the words of the historian, ate salt together. The festival was prolonged for two days in the midst of universal rejoicing. As Kāmīrān, from the rapidity and hurried nature of his return, had left his tents behind him on the road, the Emperor ordered a set to be pitched close to his own, and, at his desire, consented to 'Askari's going to stay with him.'

For this historic feast Gul-badan has provided a *hors d'œuvre* in shape of a story of improper conduct in Sulaimān which, if it expressed derision, as her vague wording does not forbid to be read, was fully justified by both what had been and what was to come. It is a very funny little tale, and readers are commended to it.

To tears and professions were added lands and freedom. Kāmīrān received Kūlāb, where Haram Begam's father had

once ruled for Bābar and Humāyūn. He was now dead, and his son, Chakr 'Alī, was left with Kāmran there. The mīrza was not pleased with his fief. 'What!' he exclaimed to the bearer of the deed of grant, 'have I not been king of Kābul and Badakhshān? Kūlāb is a mere district of Badakhshān. How can I serve in it?' The bearer observed that he had heard Kāmran was wise, and begged permission to remind him that the wonder was he had received anything at all. 'Askari, too, was given a fief, and then, leaving them neighbours and at large, Humāyūn went back to Kābul in October, 1548.

A campaign was planned for 1549 against the Uzbeks and Balkh. This was done despite marked instability in the royal following. Instability, or, in a plainer word, desertion, was an accident to which Humāyūn was peculiarly liable. One cause of it is more interesting than the common one of personal gain, because it is rooted in theological bias. Humāyūn's coquetry with Shism in Persia is one of the most entertaining of the episodes of his sojourn there, and it had consequences in arousing distrust of him, which cropped up from time to time. Bābar himself had lost ground because of his tolerance to variety of faith. But to this, both in the father and still more in the son, were added, as causes of desertion, the flux and reflux of weak government which forbid men to know who will keep the upper hand and have power to oppress.

To return to the Balkh campaign, spring was waited for and there was delay for men. Spring came, and the minds of the ladies turned to thoughts of excursions out of town. They remarked more than once to Humāyūn that the *muā* would be coming up in the hills. This is a plant of subacid flavour which some say is like sorrel and some like rhubarb. It was, at least, a plant that people made excursions to eat, much as others go blackberrying. To these hints for change the royal reply was that the army was going out, that it would pass by the Koh-i-dāman (which is renowned for its *muā*), and that the ladies should go too. Gul badan must not be deprived of

her story of the picnic, which illuminates the domestic ways of the court. The ladies went so far as to see the waterfall at Faiza, and perhaps even to Istālif, twenty miles north of Kābul, and then returned.

There had been bad omens for the start and there followed plenty of bad news from the front to fix attention on them. Kāmran broke his promise to come to Humāyūn's help. Gul-chihra's second husband, an Uzbek prince, ran away when he came to know that the army was directed against his people. There was an extraordinary retreat without an enemy, and of which the cause seems to have been fear that, as Kāmran was not there, he was oppressing Kābul. Humāyūn was left almost alone, and the Uzbeks attacked and killed many fugitives. His horse was wounded and the whole affair was a fiasco. After all, too, when Kābul was reached, there had been no sign of Kāmran.

It was the expected that Kāmran should not keep his word, but perhaps the unexpected was behind his conduct on the occasion of the Balkh campaign. Sulaiman and Ibrahim were with Humāyūn, and their presence might well have kept him away, for Gul-badan tells of an incident in which the three men had part and which did not make them good company for one another. It is a bit of scandal to which Haram adds salt and vitality. It is repeated here because some little points do not quite stand clear in the begam's wording. While Kāmran was in Kūlāb—*i.e.*, his last holding,—someone, who from her name of Taikhān Begam must have been a woman of good birth, advised him to make love to Haram Begam. Good, she said, would come of it. So Kāmran sent a go-between with a letter and a kerchief to Haram, who, furiously angry, at once summoned husband and son from wherever they were away from home, and told them of the advances made to her. She railed at Sulaimān, saying that it was clear he was thought a coward, and further observed that Kāmran feared neither *her* nor her son. Much was packed in the pronoun *here*, there

was ground to fear the energetic and resolute woman who had the army of Badakhshan at her disposal. She was a forceful person and had the go between torn to pieces. Kamran was audacious, and his advances took the more so that Haram's sister was his wife, but they may have been made rather to the charms of her army than to those of its commandante.

The events of 1550 sum up in Jauhar's words 'Mirzā Kamran wandered about the country with bad intentions.' In his course he surprised Humayun in the Qibchaq defile, and an engagement took place which was attended by great loss of life. It was witnessed by Kamran's wives and daughters from a commanding height. Bayazid mentions that the ladies wore turbans (*dastar basti*), a detail which may have been suggested by the great heat of the weather. Why the women were on the scene is perhaps explained by a similar record in the Memoirs which concerns a wife of Sultan Husain *Bayqra*. Shahrbanu, a daughter of Sultan Abu-said Mirza, was, with Husain's other wives, present at a battle between her husband and her brother, Mahmud Mirza. She did not, as the other ladies did, leave her litter and mount a horse, so as to be ready for flight if necessary, but trusting to her brother, in the case of her husband's defeat, remained comfortably in her litter while the fight went on. This dispassionate composure so much offended Husain that he divorced her. Perhaps Kamran's family, too, had prepared for whatever was to be their fate by protecting themselves against the sun and by being ready to mount.

In this encounter Humayun was badly wounded. Gulbadan was able to hear the details of the misadventure, because Khizr Khwaja was with her brother and, it may be said, fighting against his own, Yasm-daulat. Khizr and Mir Sayyid Birka *Lamazi* helped to hold the wounded man up on an ambling pony when he could not sit his horse, and so they led him out of the fray, sustaining his courage as they went by tales of other princes who had come through plights as bad. The wound was on the head,

and was like one of Bābar's in that it was given through a covering turban and this was uninjured. The pain was great and caused faintness. Humāyūn took off his quilted coat and gave it to a servant. The man finding its weight an encumbrance, left it lying, it was taken to Kāmran, who posted off with it to Kābul, showed it as evidence of death, and once more took possession of the unfortunate city.

Jauhar has quaint stories of the destitution in which Humāyūn now was, with his camp equipage lost and deprived of all necessities. He was helped along through the night, cold and weakened, and in the morning was placed in safety by the arrival of a body of reliable troopers under Hājī Muhammad *kūha*. He warmed himself in the sun, washed his wound, said his prayer kneeling on a scarlet stool, and borrowed a coat from a servant to replace his own, which was blood-stained. Then came an old woman of the place and offered him a pair of silk trousers, that he might discard his blood-stained ones. He accepted, while saying they were not fit for a man's wear, and remitted her taxes for life. This was drawing well in anticipation of the time when his account in those regions would stand to his credit.

It is said that while he sat with his face still to the *qibla* one of his followers, Sultān Muhammad *garānāl*, performed again for him the rite his father had observed, and expressed his willingness to die for him. Humāyūn spoke reassuring words and comforted his faithful sacrifice.

For nearly three months Kābul believed Humāyūn dead. These words cover much feeling, sad and joyful, but there is no one to tell the truth and say whether it was thought by some to offer better hope of peace that Humāyūn should be dead. There was always a large following of powerful officers ready to join Kāmran, and one cannot suppose their changes in allegiance mere folly and fickleness. But no courtly author has told Kāmran's side of the whole matter, nor his view of his own position.

With Kābul Akbar came again into his uncle's hands

He was kept safe through all the vicissitudes of his father's career, and was well cared for both by Kāmran and by 'Askari. It has been said that on one occasion Kāmran exposed him on the battlements of Kābul to his father's guns, and this charge finds support from our princess. She however, it may be observed, makes no mention of the act attributed by some writers to Māham *anaga*, of interposing her own body to shield the child, indeed, she never once mentions this latterly influential woman. But this incident notwithstanding, it must be admitted that the boy was well treated. 'Askari's wife, who took charge of him after his capture at Quetta, is said to have been most kind to him. He was entrusted by Kāmran to Khānzāda, itself an act of surety and kindness. Again and again he fell into his uncle's hands when Kāmran was exasperated by foiled attempts to keep Kābul, and yet he survived. Kāmran had a son, it would have surprised no one to learn that, as complement to his effort to oust Humāyūn from his higher place, he had killed Akbar to give his own son more chance. In this there is what fixes attention in the same way that it is fixed by Gul-badan's record of Kāmran's anxiety to obtain from the elder ladies of his house sanction to have the *khutba* read in his name. It was in his power to have himself proclaimed ruler in Kābul, but he discussed his wish to be so proclaimed with the other members of the royal family before he did it, and the discussion was prolonged, and referred from Dil-dār to the greatest of the ladies, Khānzāda. In both these points there is something which, if better known, might mitigate the sweeping judgment usually passed upon Kāmran as altogether wrong in all his doings.

Humāyūn spent some time in Ander-āb while his wound was healing and his army gathering, and here Haram comes again upon the scene. Where Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were, is not quite clear, but it was to Haram a message went asking her for the army of Badakhshān. It was to come as quickly as possible, and fully equipped. It took the energetic woman only a few days to put some thousands of

men in the field. It was she, says our princess, who did it all, took thought, and overlooked everything. Then she led the men to 'the pass,'—amongst so many possible, one cannot fix on which,—and having done her work, went home. It seems probable that Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were already with Humāyūn, and that Hāram despatched a supplementary force. The battle in which it was to engage was that important fight at Ushtur-grām which Humāyūn tried hard to prevent by previous mediation, and which was forced on by Kāmran's chief officer, Qarācha Khān.

There was much previous discussion as to terms of peace, but Kāmran and Qarācha would have nothing less than Kābul. A second embassy offered alliance of the 'unique pearl of the *dhulajāt*,' Akbar, with the mīrzā's 'dear daughter' (who may be 'Āyisha), and that Kābul should be theirs, and suggested that Humāyūn and Kāmran should join forces and again attack Hindūstān. All came to nothing, because Qarācha cried, and enforced his cry, 'Our heads or Kābul.' The battle that followed was a complete success for the royal arms, and to add to its good results, Akbar, of whose safety there had been doubt, was brought to Humāyūn's camp. His father vowed charitable gifts for his restoration, and also that he would never part from him again.

A pleasant chance befell Humāyūn on the stricken field, for when he had claimed, as his share of booty, two driverless camels, he found in their loads his own books which he had lost at the Qibchāq defile. Many would be MSS. of the Persian poets, Bābar knew these well and often quotes the Gulstān, and Humāyūn was too much of a dilettante and verse-lover not to have made himself familiar with them round.

Happily the tale of the doings of Kāmran is drawing to a close. He made a night attack, by which Hindāl lost his life, on the royal forces on November 20th, 1551, sued for help in vain from Sālim Shāh, the Emperor of Hindūstān, from Adam Ghakkar, and was surrendered by him to Humāyūn, was blinded by the insistence of the

amirs on August 17 1553, and allowed to go to Makka. He was accompanied, as all the writers tell, by his Arghūn wife Mah-chuchak, and by her equal in compassion, a servant of Humayūn Chulma Beg. He made the *haj* four times and he died on October 5th, 1557. Mah-chuchak survived him seven months. She only of his wives is commemorated as accompanying him to Makka, but I see no reason why others may not also be accepted as equally faithful. Her father opposed her going, and she roundly upheld her view of her duty and has been taken into the texture of history, but her co-wives may have gone unopposed and unpraised. How interesting Kamran might have made a book of Memoirs in which he set down his life from his own point of view, his motives, ambitions, opinions of right and wrong, and above all, if he had spoken his inner mind about the religious duties he was enabled to perform before death, through his defeat and mutilation! We do not know all the truth about him: certain crimes, of murder and of treachery after promise given, could never be palliated, but in the matter of possession of Kabul there may be much brought forward which would place him rather in the position of the defender of rights than then assailant. He had no courtly chronicler, and has borne the blame of much that could plausibly be traced back to Humayūn's own defects and their outcome of opportunity.

To end the story of the faithful brothers,—'Askari too received leave to go to Makka from Badakhshan in 1551, he died between that city and Damascus in 1558. Both he and Kīmrān thus lived long enough to see their house triumph again in India and their weary thwartings of its elder branch set at naught by the firmer hands of Akbar's chiefs. Of 'Askari one clear characteristic only comes out: he was true to the blood tie with his mother's son and own senior, Kāmrān.

A little return must now be made, in order to bring up the tale of home events to the date of those military. In 1551 the first marriage of the younger generation was arranged by the betrothal of Bakhshi-bānū to Ibrāhīm, son

of Haram The Badakhshī trio had certainly deserved well of Humāyūn and, while doing the best they could to strengthen their own position, had given him efficient help It is good to tell all that is known of Haram She seems to have had several daughters who played a part in public events as seals of alliance When Humāyūn had passed a short time of repose in Kābul after his victory of Ushtur-grām, he sent to Haram to ask Shāhzāda Khānam, one of these girls, in marriage for himself His envoys were two persons whom Haram did not consider worthy of their office They were members of the royal household, and trusted members too, for one was Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Mahmūd, *mīr sāmān*,¹ who, on Akbar's accession, was made commander of 2,500, and the other was Bibī Fāṭima, whom we know as having helped to nurse Humāyūn in his illness of 1546

Haram, the dominant partner in the command of Badakhshān, mother of a girl in whose veins was reputed to flow the blood of Alexander and of Tīmūr, daughter of a tribal chief, and conscious of intrinsic claim to deference, inquired of the two lowly messengers why no begam or lady (*aghācha*) had come to prefer the royal request She must have known that Humāyūn could not mean to affront her, he had just given his daughter to her son and had testified gratitude for help in substantial ways to Sulaimān at the same time She allowed herself to be mollified on condition that he himself should come to fetch his bride The wedding does not seem to have taken place and the alliance was handed on to the next generation, in which, besides Ibrāhīm's, there was a betrothal of Muhammad Hakīm to a daughter of Haram

While speaking of Haram and the alliances of her family with the royal house, there may be named a high-handed act about another quasi-royal marriage One of

¹ This title is sometimes rendered 'butler,' but this is misleading, and a word not linked in English with intoxicants would be better Jalālu d dīn it was who led Humāyūn to give up the use of drugs, unfortunately late in life, by a gentle and forcible reproach

Kāmrān's wives was Muhtarīma Khānam *Chaghatai*, and on his death Sulaimān wished to marry her. Of her as co-wife, Hāmam would not hear, and contrived to make her a daughter-in-law by marrying her to Ibrāhīm.

The death of Hindāl in the night attack of Kāmrān, on November 20th, 1551, was a heavy blow to Gul-badan. She writes of it with feeling, and casts light on the question of rank in the affections of a Musalmān wife. She asks why her son or her husband was not killed rather than her brother. Perhaps she spoke out of feeling born of the fact that no dead father's son can be replaced, and from the depths of family affection. Dutiful and admirable as were many of the wives of this time, the tie between the husband and a wife can never be so close as it is where the husband's affection is never a divisible factor in the household. Gul-badan shows that Musalmānī affection centred on those of the same blood.

The royal ladies must have felt it hard when, after having mourned Humāyūn through Kāmrān for nearly three months, Hindāl was killed. This happened near Khizr Khwāja's fief of Jui-shāhī, which explains why the body was sent there for burial and entrusted to the khwāja. It was removed later to Kābul and laid at Bābar's feet. Hindāl was thirty-two years old, and left one daughter, Ruqaiya, who became the first wife of Akbar and survived him, a childless woman, to the age of eighty-four.

Unfortunately for her readers, our begam's book ends abruptly (just after she has mentioned the blinding of Kāmān,) in the only MS. of which we have knowledge, *i.e.*, that belonging to the British Museum. The missing pages are a real loss. The narrative breaks off some three years before Akbar's accession, and for the future the best authority on our topics is silent. There is no occurrence of her own name in the histories until she goes to India in the first year of Akbar. Much of supreme importance happened to the royal family in the interval, and this makes regret the keener for the defective MS.

Set free from the burden of his brothers, Humāyūn

determined, in 1554, to try his fortune again in Hindūstān. He left Kābul on November 15th,—a date so near that of Bābar's start in 1525 that it looks as if both obeyed the same omen of the heavens,—and with Akbar dropped comfortably down the river from Jalālābād to Peshāwar. The course of his advance beyond the Indus can be followed in Mr Erskine's pages, and need not be repeated here. He was proclaimed Emperor in Dihlī on July 23rd, 1555.

A little-known episode of the time is the visit to India and the court of Sīdī 'Alī Reis, a Turkish admiral of Sulaimān the Great, who by the exigencies of war and weather found himself obliged to travel with a few officers and fifty sailors from Sūrat to Lāhōr and thence across all the wide intervening lands to Turkey¹. He was welcomed by Musalmāns for his master's sake, and he was offered appointments in India, all of which he refused. He was received with great honour by Shāh Husam *Aīghūn*, of whom he says that he had then reigned forty years, and had become so invalided during the last five that he could not sit his horse and used only boats for travel. Elsewhere it is said of Shāh Husam that he was subject to fever of such kind that he could live only on the river, and that he used to spend his time in going up and down from one extremity to the other of his territory in search of ease and health. Probably this is a detail of the admiral's remark. He heard of Māh-chūchak (wife of Husam), whom he calls Hapī Begam, as prisoner of 'Īsā *Tarkhān*, and of her return to Husam. He heard, too, something which is not supported by other writers, namely, that she poisoned Husam, and that he died in consequence ten days after she rejoined him. The improbability of this story is shown by the fact that later on she conveyed Husam's body to Makka for interment, an act which would be incredible if the accusation of murder were true. Much that is interesting is told of the journey to the first place

¹ 'Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Reis', Vambéry, Luzac and Co., 1899.

where Sidi Ali's route brought him into contact with Humayūn's people, i.e., Lahlōr. He arrived early in August, shortly after the Restoration (July 23rd), and there awaited royal orders, because the governor would not let him go on until the Emperor had seen him. When one tries to picture one's self without telegrams or newspapers, one judges that a kindly-disposed amir would endeavour to forward everyone who could tell a tale for the entertainment of the court. Humayūn sent for the admiral, and had him received, in the first half of October,¹ outside Dihli by Barām Khān i Iḥānān, other great amirs, 1,000 men, and 100 elephants. He dined with the Khān-i-Iḥānān, and was then introduced to the presence.

As was natural, the Emperor wished to keep his guest at court permanently, if possible, and if not this, then long enough to 'calculate solar and lunar eclipses, their degree of latitude and exact date, and to help the court astrologers to study the sun's course and the points of the equator.' What fastened interest on the Ottoman was that he learned to write verses in Chaghatu Turkī so well that Humayūn called him a second Ali Shir Nava'i. He had a turn for chronograms too, and at his first audience presented one of the taking of Dihli, and made others subsequently which were admired. He was a clever man, and his literary aptitudes suited his royal host and the tone of the entourage. But he had other acquirements than those which ring well the change of words and obtained him his sobriquet of 'book-man,' and these others he used to bring about an agreement between the Emperor and his own former host,

¹ M. Vambéry makes the Emperor urge, as a reason for keeping the admiral, that they were 'now close upon the rains. But it was October, and, moreover, Humayūn pointed out that the rivers were in flood and roads impassable. Perhaps this is a mistake of the admiral's, but still he saw the rivers, to his cost, in going to Dihli. Those who may read the interesting little book, for which thanks are due to M. Vambéry, need to accept it in other places also with some caution—e.g., p. 38, Sultān Mahmūd Bhalārī is called Husain Arghūn's adopted brother, and p. 40, his father. He was a *kūka*. Some of the mistakes may well be due to the difficulty of getting hold of a fact, and thus especially on a journey. But cf. p. 43 n.

Sultān Mahmūd *Bhakkārī* An official paper was drawn up, to which Humāyūn, literally, set his fist, for he dipped his clenched hand in saffron and laid it on the deed Mahmud was much pleased, and both he and his vizier wrote their thanks to the mediator This incident, and others too, gave occasion for other Tūrki ghazels and higher praise Sīdī 'Alī was constantly in the royal circle, and there were contests in verse-making and dilettante amusements which reveal the true and newly-risen Huma once more at ease in untroubled India The traveller had not much to coax court favour with in the way of gifts, and this plumed his poetic flights, when he was wearied by his detention, he carried two ghazels to the royal seal-bearer and let them plead for his departure They were heard, and he got 'leave to go,' with gifts and passport

His affairs were all in order for his start when there happened the fatal accident which ended Humāyūn's life That Humāyūn should die violently was in keeping with the violent changes of his career, and that he met his death in a building of Shīr Shāh was a singular chance His last hours of activity were filled by pleasant occupations, old friends had been seen who had just come back from Makka and would bring him news of both pilgrim brothers, letters had been read from home in Kābul, he had gone up to the roof of the Shīr Mandal, which he used as his library, and had shown himself to the crowd assembled below, then he had interested himself in the rising of Venus, with the object of fixing a propitious hour for a reception,—perhaps to include the farewell of the Turkish guest

The Shīr Mandal is a two-storied building with flat roof in the middle of which rises a small cupola which looks like a shade from the sun The roof is reached by two discontinuous, steep, and narrow flights of high and shallow granite steps, which are enclosed in walls and the upper one of which emerges through the roof The Emperor on that Friday evening of January 21th, 1556, had started down the upper flight and was on its second step, when the *mu'azzin* raised the cry for prayer from the neighbouring mosque Sūli

'Alī says, as though it were some individual habit of Humāyūn, that the latter had the custom of kneeling whenever he heard the cry, other writers say that he tried to seat himself. His foot became entangled, some say in his mantle (*postūn*), his staff slid along the smooth step, and he fell to the bottom of the flight with severe injuries to head and arm. It is professed that a letter went after the fall from him to Akbar, but this may be a part of the well-meaning deception in which the dangerous nature of the injuries was shrouded, it would seem more probable from the admiral's account of the episode, which is silent as to any recovery of consciousness, that the injuries to the head were too severe to allow of restoration to sense. Three days later Humāyūn died, on January 27th, and in the forty-eighth year of his age.

'We come from God, and to Him we return,' and 'There is no guard against fate,' are the quoted comments of the Turkish admiral. He counselled that the death should be concealed until Akbar's return to Dīhli, and brought forward experience drawn from his own country's similar circumstances. This was done and various fictions were composed. A man personated the dead Emperor in public audience, and there were rejoicings over his recovery from the fall. Sīdī 'Alī took leave of the grandees, and conveyed the false news of Humāyūn's restoration to health in a friendly way along his route. By the time he reached Lāhōr he found that Akbar had been proclaimed, and his name read in the Friday prayers. Here, as before, the traveller had to wait for royal orders, because the governor had, or invented, useful orders for the crisis, that no one should pass to Kābul. Then he was sent to the presence in Kīlānūn, where Akbar honoured his father's passport and let the harassed and home-sick man continue his journey, with money for expenses and a strong escort to Kābul.

Before bidding him good-bye on his still lengthy journey, it may be said that he and his four escorting begs and his sailors marched to Peshāwar through the night to escape that

Adam Ghakkar who had made over Kāmīān to Humāyūn, that they saw two rhinoceroses, an event which makes one wonder whether there still remained a part of the ancient lake of the plain of Peshawar to serve as habitat for the huge and now vanished beasts, and that they crossed the many-memored Khaibar

In Kābul the admiral saw Humāyūn's two sons, Muhammad Hakīm and Farukh-fāl, who were born in the same month of 1553, one being the child of Māh-chūchak and the other of Khānīsh *āghā Khwārizmī*. This statement is a surprise, because Bāyazīd says that Farukh died within a few days of birth. The admiral's information suggests an error in Bāyazīd's MS.

Sīdī 'Alī found Kābul beautiful and speaks of its snowy girdle, its gardens and its running water. He traced pleasure and merriment and feasting everywhere, and even instituted comparison between it and Paradise to the disadvantage of the latter. But he had no time for 'frivolities,' and thought only of hurrying home. He saw Mu'nīm Khān in the city, and being told by him that he could not cross the passes, observed that men had overcome mountains, and under the care of a local guide whose home was on the road, accomplished the feat with labour and safely. He took the road to Tāliqān and there saw our well-known friends, Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm, but he is silent as to Hāmām. Here, too, he wrote and offered his ghazel, and was both welcomed and speeded. In Tāliqān we must leave him who has been a welcome new figure amongst familiar actors.

SECTION III — UNDER AKBAR

Protected by the capable men who upheld Akbar, the royal ladies had not again to flee before foes or to suffer violent change of fortune. Humāyūn had planned their journey from Kābul to India. Akbar more than once in his first year of rule had to cancel the orders he had given to effect it. Three military affairs disturbed the plan,—the suppression of the revolt of Abū'l-ma'ālī, the operations

against Sikandar *Atqhān*, and the encounter with Himū at Pānīpat. At length amīrs were named to escort the ladies from Kābul. The officers set out, but on their march received orders to act first against Sulaimān Mīrzā, who, on hearing of Humāyūn's death, had come over from Badakhshān to besiege Kābul. This was the first of a series of his attempts on the city, to which he laid fanciful claim as head of the house of Timūr after Humāyūn. The approach of the imperial troops broke up his siege, and his claim having been accommodated by reading his name once in the *Ihutba* at Kābul, he went home and left the ladies free to start.

They made their journey in time to arrive during the first quarter of 1557 near where lay the royal camp, at Mānkot, in the western Sewalikhs. The Emperor came a stage from it to meet them, and was 'much comforted by the reunion'. With Hamīda-bānu Begam, to whom, as Empress-mother, the chief place must be assigned, were Gul-badan, Gul-chihra, Hājī, and Salīma Begams. There was also a large company of officers' wives.

Perhaps the ladies remained near the camp until it broke up and went to Līhōr. It left that city on its march for Dīhlī on December 7th, 1557, at Jalīndhar it halted, and here, with pomp and amidst general interest, Bairām Khān *i-khānān* married Salīma Sultān Begam, a granddaughter of Bābar. She was a half-niece of Humāyūn, and she had with Akbar cousinship of the 'four-anna' degree. Bābar was their common ancestor, and then differing grandmothers diluted the cousinly relation.

This alliance had been arranged by Humāyūn, and the use of *supurdan* by Abū'l-fa'z when writing of it, shows that what was now celebrated was a marriage, and not a betrothal. This point is mentioned here because some writers fix Salīma's age at this time as five, an estimate which is not supported by known facts of her life. The bride was probably a reward for the surpassing services done by Bairām for Humāyūn, the newest being those of the Restoration. Bairām was a man to whom seems due the largesse

of the hand of a king's daughter, he out-topped his contemporaries by his full stature in capacity, culture, faithfulness, and character. Salima,¹ though much his junior, was in other respects a fit wife for him. She was an educated woman, ranks amongst verse-makers so completely as to have a pen-name (*takhallas*), and stands out gently, by birth, character, and attainments.

Khizr Khwāja Khān had gone to Hindūstān with Humāyūn in 1554, and early in 1556 had been appointed by Akbar to the government of Lāhōr. He was left to carry on operations against Sikandar Afghān when Akbar was called away by Hīmū's movements, and he was defeated. The few words said about him give the impression that he was not a good soldier, and he is never again named in responsible command. The slight things recorded of him point to subsequent comfortable existence at court as the 'husband of the Emperor's aunt, Gul badan Begam'. Once he made a gift of horses to Akbar, in 1563 he helped to nurse Akbar when the latter was wounded in Dihlī, and there is no record of his death. He was raised to high military rank, and at some time was *amīr-i-umara'*, but the *Āin-i-akbarī* does not place him in its list of *mansabdars*. He stands twelfth in the general list of the *Tabaqat*, and amongst the chiefs of 5,000.

From her coming to India in 1557 to the time of her pilgrimage in 1574, our princess is not mentioned by the historians. The interval held much of deep interest to her and to others of her generation whose lives were slipping away under the safeguarding of Akbar. Some survivors of an older day, witnesses of Bairām's fidelity to Humāyūn, must have felt his downfall keenly. Hamida can hardly have been ignorant of the intrigue which brought this about, because she was related to the chief actors in it,—Māham anaga, Adham Khān, and Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad

¹ The histories have a definite statement about her descent which yet presents difficulties when looked into. Its points are considered in the Appendix, s n Salima.

Nishāpūrī The last was governor of Dihlī, where she lived, and part of the scheme to separate Akbar from Bairām took him to Dihlī to see her, and thus under the eye of Shihāb Hamīda must have had clear in memory the truly valid services done for her husband by Bairām during the Persian exile. The plot had its nucleus in a sayyid circle and in families religious by inheritance, and it was carried out at the point of the tongue. Muhammad Bāqī Khān *lūka*, the *anaqa*'s elder son, does not appear as taking part in it. He served the Emperor till 1584, rose to be a chief of 3,000, and of his character nothing is known. His younger brother, Adham, although put to death in 1562, had become chief of 5,000. All that is said of him is bad, and he, like his mother, was fluent in detraction and did all in his power to poison the mind of Akbar against the worthiest of his amirs.

Many comments have been made upon Māham *anaqa*, both by the Persian writers and by their European commentators. Abū'l-faḍl calls her a cupola of chastity, and it is now possible to wipe from her reputation the stain suggested by Professor Blochmann when writing of the parentage of Adham. She was wife of Nadīm Khān *lūka*, a faithful servant of Humāyūn. This fragment of useful information was brought to light by Mr. Beveridge, who found it in a MS. of Colonel Hanna, which may yield other valuable matter on quasi domestic points. Māham *anaqa* may be granted the praise she deserves as a nurse who earned the affection of Akbar to the end of her life, she is entitled to such praise as belongs to a mother who screens a son's every fault and pushes his fortunes with all her influence. She must take the dispraise of not pushing her elder son's as she did Adham's. Bāyazīd *bīyāt* speaks of her as kind to him, and tells little stories which show her the centre of small affairs. I have not discerned in her any sign of talent. Whatever influence Akbar's affection gave her would be strengthened by her connection with his mother, and perhaps, too, with other women who were descended from Ahmad *Jāmī*. Amongst these was Hājī

Begam, Humāyūn's widow and a person much regarded by the Emperor

In the year following Bairām's death, Adham Khān, who, says the *Tabaqāt*, held a place higher than the other courtiers because he was his mother's son, was on duty in Mālwa against Bāz Bahādur *Sūr*. Incidents resulted which emphasize regret that for such as the actors in them Bairām had had to make way. Māham anaga was *de facto* prime minister, Mu'nim Khān had been made *Khān-i-lhānān*, and it was looked for by his friend the anaga that he should become prime minister *de jure*. Bāz Bahādur was defeated and fled from Sārangpūr. Among the Hindūs, he had ordered his servants to kill the women of his household in the event of his defeat. Several had been so killed, many had been wounded, when the sacrifice was interrupted by the imperialists under Adham. Badāyunī says that there followed slaughter by Adham and his colleague, Pīr Muhammad Khān, of terrible extent, and his own eyes saw that these two regarded God's creation in mankind as leeks, cucumbers, and radishes,—a quaint turn of words which covers awful butchery. When remonstrated with in the name of the law, the murderers asked what was to be done with so many prisoners.

If the order for the death of the women of Bāz Bahādur's household had issued from a Rājput heart, there would have been no need for executioners while he was in flight. The victims were, however, not Rājputnīs, and they suffered only to gratify the vanity of a Moslim. Amongst those wounded was Rūp-matī, a dancing-girl renowned throughout Hindūstān for beauty, singing, and poetic gifts. Her name seems that of a Hindū. Her wounds, inflicted by Bāz Bahādur's order, were severe and she wished to die. Adham let her know that, if she would care for herself, he would send her to her master when she could travel. She took his promise as true, had her wounds dressed and recovered. When she claimed fulfilment of Adham's word, she was told to consider herself as his slave. He entered her room, raised her veil, and saw her dead by her own act.

Perhaps the point of deepest social degradation in this story is that Rūp-matī was, by men's decree, born to sin without blame, and yet she died because she loved one man. Her heart was single, and yet she was only the most charming, clever and beautiful of a crowd of dancing-girls, purchased slaves, to whom no man's loyalty and no mercy were thought due.

Adham Khān took much booty from Bāz Bahādur, and he disregarded the rule which required the choicest part to be sent to the Emperor, he also comported himself more like an independent ruler than a king's lieutenant. This angered Akbar, and he hurried off to Sarangpūr, outdistanced a messenger of Māham *anaga* whom she had sent with warnings, and took Adham by surprise. She herself came in next day and counselled surrender of the spoil. This and other matters having been adjusted, the Emperor started for his capital. No sooner was he gone than Adham, with his mother's connivance, regained possession of two of the most coveted of the captive women. News of this went after Akbar, who ordered them to be returned to the royal camp. When they came again within her power, the *anaga* had them murdered, so that they might not tell the tale of their abduction.

Having spent so many years under the influence of Māham *anaga*, it is to the credit of Akbar's humanity and mental force that there are not more than the recorded blots on his scutcheon, at nineteen he rebelled against his nurse, when she had set his feet on the primrose path to ruin of person and empire. He did not punish the murder of the captive girls, but he soon manifested his intention to depose his nurse and her son from power. Instead of appointing their friend Mu'nim prime minister, he summoned his foster-father, Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmad *Ghaznavī* and gave him the post. Shamsu-d-dīn was an unlettered man, but he was staunch and had sons who were true to Jī-Jī *anaga's* nursing.

The next episode in which Māham *anaga* and her son appear, was one to shake the home fabric to its foundations,

for Adham murdered Shamsu-d-din, bursting in upon him as he sat in business audience and unsuspecting. It was done on the night of May 16th, 1562. The incident is well known, how the murderer rushed to the *haram* door and on the appearance of Akbar began to palliate his crime, but was struck down by a blow of the royal fist and then killed by royal order.¹

It was the Emperor who told Māham *anaga* of her son's death. 'Māmā' we have killed Adham,' are the words put into his mouth by Bāyazīd. She fell ill from anger and grief, this blow shattered her heart's idol and her ambition for him and herself. Badāyunī says that she died after having presented the food of the fortieth day of mourning, and this points to her belief that the souls of the dead take final departure from earth on that day and after partaking of the food of their choice which the care of relations sets for them. Mother and son were buried in one spot, and Akbar placed his shoulder under his nurse's bier in sign of his sentiment to her.

Quite stirring news for discussion through some years, amongst the elder ladies of the royal family, would be the conduct of Māh-chūchak Begam in Kābul. She was the last recorded wife of Humāyūn, and was married in 1546, after the coming of Hamīda from Qandahār to Kābul. She was not a woman of birth,—one gathers a general impression that few royal wives married late in life were so,—and her title of begam was probably owed to her having borne a son, Muhammad Hakīm. In 1554 Humāyūn had left her three-years-old boy as nominal governor of Kābul under charge of Mu'nim Khān, and in 1556 Akbar had confirmed the appointment. When Mu'nim went to court in 1561,

¹ Some writers put into Akbar's mouth, when he addressed Adham, an epithet which would imply baseness in his birth and opprobrium of his mother, but I am advised that from various considerations weight need not be given to the inference of the word, which, moreover, is not used by all the sources. The point is mentioned here because of the contradiction involved in the epithet with the statement of marriage with Nadīm *kūka*, and with the terms of respect employed towards the *anaga* by the Persian writer who uses the degrading epithet.

the discussion between them of his wish to take Muhtarīma to wife, which Haram had frustrated by marrying the khanām to Sulaimān's son instead of to himself, but she had been angered extremely by the murder of one of her brothers by her husband and her son. She took the resolution of deserting Sulaimān and went over to Kābul, where then Mu'nim Khān was governor, and she had meant to carry on her complaints to Akbaī. Mu'nim, however, who had been begged to mediate by Sulaimān, gave her good advice and pacified her, so that at last she consented to return to Badakhshān. He rode out to bid her farewell, she bade her camel kneel and dismounted, he got off his horse, and there was exchange of friendly greeting. She told him she regarded him as a brother and that for his sake she would never bring the army of Badakhshān against Kābul. It came several times later and with her approval, but Haram could swear and break even 'awful oaths'. Bāyazīd *bīyāt* accompanied her to the Ghurband and was charmed by her suavity and agreeableness.

On the death of Abū'l-ma'ālī, Sulaimān sent home for a daughter and married her to Muhammad Hakīm, partitioned out some of the lands of Kābul to his own people, and went home to Qila'-i-zafar. Irritation against the interlopers led to their expulsion by the Kābulis, and this brought the Badakhshī forces again to Kābul, in 1561 Muhammad Hakīm hurried to the Indus and complained to his big brother and Sulaimān was made to retreat.

In 1566 he and Haram and their girls were again before the coveted Kābul, and on this occasion Haram tried to supplement their failing military action by treachery. She got Sulaimān to lay an ambush for Muhammad Hakīm, whom, with 'awful oaths' of amity, she had persuaded to have a meeting with her under profession of desire to adopt him now that her son Ibrīhīm was dead. The end of this affair was, in net result to the Badakhshīs, nothing, Haram went home and Sulaimān followed. With them went the unfailing daughters, of whom Haram seems to have had many, or who were betrothed and not

'entrusted,' so many recorded times. They had been near capture by the Kābulis in the Four-walled Garden, but the commandant of the city recalled his men and let the girls go free, because he did not think it seemly to capture women.

This is not the place to follow Sulaimān's interesting fortunes to their close, under Akbar's protection, by death in Lāhōr in 1589. For our purpose, it is enough to say that he held Badakhshān so long as Hāram's watchful eye was on him, and lost it at her death. It was Muhtarima's son, Shīh-rukh, his own grandson, who turned him out of his beloved Badakhshān, and in this, too, there may be Hāram's hand. Muhtarima would not be likely to teach her boy dutiful conduct to Hāram or to Hāram's husband, for the two women were foes, and Hāram had tried to separate Muhtarima from her son, and to expel her from Badakhshān to her parental home in Kashghar. If Hāram had lived, her pride would have found content in two alliances of her grandson with daughters of the royal blood, —one a child of Muhammad Hākīm, and the other of Akbar himself.

The ill behaviour of Hamīda-banu's brother, Khwāja Mu'azzam, must have been a frequent annoyance to the inner circle of the elder ladies at court. From boyhood he had been fantastic and mischievous, and perhaps carried always the germ of the madness which overtook his last years. Bairām, the sensible, had exiled him, then had given him some countenance, on Bairām's fall he had received a fief, and, so far, had been favoured. But Akbar did not like him, and the murders he had committed were sufficient to warrant dislike. He was a true *parvenu*, assertive and relying on his sister to excuse his faults. Hamīda had been conscious before her marriage that her lowly birth was a point against her wedding with Humāyūn. The disparity in her case, as in other misalliances of the time, had raised unworthy people to power. Now, in 1564, Bibī Fātima lamented to Akbar that Khwāja Mu'azzam had threatened to kill his wife Zubia, who was

her daughter. The Emperor consequently sent the khwāja word that he was coming to his house, and followed the message closely. As he entered, the khwāja stabbed Zuhra and then flung his knife, like a challenge, amongst the royal followers. Abū'l-faḥl says that for punishment the murderer was flung into the river, but 'would not drown'. The more sensible Nizāmu d-dīn Ahmad says he was beaten and then soused in the river. He died insane, in prison, at Guḷiār. All the shortcomings and crimes of the man notwithstanding, Hamīda must have cherished some warmth of feeling for the tricky boy who had lifted suspicion from her in the matter of the stolen rubies of the Persian episode.

In 1571 another old acquaintance comes to the front in the person of Nāhid Begam, in whom our princess must have maintained interest for the sake of her father Qāsim, Bābā's foster-brother. Nāhid, as has been said earlier, was the daughter of Qāsim and of Māh chūchak Arghūn, who must not be confounded with Kāmran's wife of the same name, one common amongst the Arghūn women of the time. She had married Muhibb-'alī, son of Nizāmu d-dīn 'Alī *Khalīfa Barlas*, and who had risen to high military rank but now lived remote from soldiering and in reposeful retirement. Nāhid's mother was now in her (third) widowhood for 'Isā *Tarkhān Arghūn*, and she was not well regarded by her last husband's son, Muhammad Bāqī *Tarkhān Arghūn*, the ruler of Tatta. Nāhid, in 1571, went to see her mother, and perhaps conveyed to Bāqī the impression that her visit was something more than filial. He put Māh-chūchak in prison, and so behaved to Nāhid that she hurried off to court and made bitter complaint of her own wrongs and of the rudeness shown to the royal attendants who had been with her in Sind. She told Akbar, too, that she had talked with Sultān Mahmūd *Bhakkarī*, that old retainer of Shāh Husam who had kept the island-fort against Humāyūn in the forties, and for whom Sidi 'Alī *Reis* had negotiated terms in 1555. Mahmūd had suggested an attack on Tatta, and, supported by him,

Nahid pleaded for help from Akbar to act against Baqi. She was very keen about her plan and persuaded the Emperor to give men and money.

Mulhabb al-din was disturbed from his repose, and put at the head of the force. With him went Nahid and also a wife named Samra and her son Mujahid. For Nahid's end the long war that followed was infructuous. An amusing episode of it was that Samra, when things did not go as she wished, went into rebellion against Akbar and actually held an entrenchment against the royal amirs a day and a night. In the end, Mulhabb al-din obtained a comfortable town appointment and nothing more is heard of the ladies. Probably they too accommodated themselves to the tolerant and forgiving atmosphere of Akbar's court.

Arumudam Ahmad is somewhat more sober of diction than his fellow-pennmen and so when he says that the Gujrat campaign of 1572 caused the royal ladies joy enough to let their live whole-hearted delight is pictured. This was the campaign which made beautiful Sikri the City of Victory (Dhath pur). Round one incident of the war womanly interest,—and surely compassion also,—will have centred. The veil of historic silence lifts for a brief moment, and shows Gul-rukh, Kamran's daughter, in flight with her son.

Gul-badan's long span of unchronicled life was probably spent in the peaceful occupation of a wife and mother, with variety from books, verse-making, festivities, and outside news. She must have found much to exercise her lively mind in Hindustan. That she went about with the royal camp is shown by the record of the place assigned to her tent in the encampments. It was pitched next to Hamida's, well within the great enclosure, and not far from the Emperor's own. Since she was a woman, she must have found food for observation in the doings and position of her sex under the conditions of their life in Hindustan. How did *satī* look to her? What did she think of the *jāhar*? Both these Hindū customs were far different from those of

her traditions in similar crises. She came of a tribe which boasts of the fidelity of its wives to the marriage tie. All the women of her house must have heard of the defiant act of Aīs-daulat, Bābar's grandmother, who had ordered her maids to stab a man to whom her captor had given her, and who then, for sole excuse, had observed that she was the wife of Yūnas Khān. Gul-badan had also in her own family history plenty of examples of the fate of captured girls, for many of her kinswomen had married foes of their tribe, and many too had become contented wives, well treated, and remaining in their foreign homes apparently without constraint.¹

What Tīmūnid women saw amongst the Hindūs reveals another type of virtue and another standard of wedded life. Our princess must have heard something on the topic *through her father's experience when she was a child*. Wifehood and motherhood now gave her better insight into the problems which underlie social relations. She would hear that Rājputnīs died joyfully rather than be captured, that outmatched Rājputīs killed wives and children and went to certain death themselves,—a holocaust to honour. The early years of Akbar furnished plenty of such records.

How, one would like to know, did the Musalmānī regard the willing death by fire of the Hindū widow, in that exaltation which lifts thought above pain and terror and is admirable, whether in the martyr for faith or for wifely duty? Unfortunately, the barriers of language and habit must have kept Akbar's Rājput wives from charming the Musalmānī ladies by recital of the legends of their race. These Hindūs can never have been welcome inmates of the

¹ I think, and the impression is gathered from the Memoirs, that although women and children were often murdered by victorious soldiers, wives were often returned to their husbands or families, and that enforced marriage was usually with the defeated leader's daughters. Perhaps the Muhammadan law of divorce helped the wives. Injustice might easily be done under the rough and ready expectation that family ties would be set at naught by conquerors who were Muhammadans. There was certainly diversity of action and of degree of mercy and chivalry.

palace to any of the Moslems, but, pagan as they were thought, their conduct as wives must have insinuated the thin edge of conviction that to no one form of faith is committed the nurture of the sense of duty

One common thought Gul-badan and the rest could have shared with the Hindū ladies,—that of the duty of pilgrimage and of respect for holy places. When next history concerns itself with our begam, it is to tell of her setting out, in 1575, for Makka. The Emperor had been unwilling to part with her, and it may be, even, had delayed with the thought of accompanying her. His heart was now much set upon making the *haj*, but he did no more than walk a short distance with a caravan from Āgra, dressed in the seamless wrapper of the Arabian ceremonies. Though debarred from leaving Hindūstān himself, he helped many others to fulfil this primary duty of their faith, and opened wide his purse for their expenses. Each year he named a leader of the caravan, and provided him with gifts and ample funds. Sultān Khwaja, Gul-badan's cicerone, took, amongst other presents, 12,000 dresses of honour. He did not bring her home again, this duty fell to Khwāja Yahyā (John). What circumstance extorted royal consent to Gul-badan's absence is not recorded, her advancing age,—she was past fifty,—and her dislike of the laxity in opinion and practice in matters of the Faith would add warmth to her request for leave to go.

Abū'l-fazl has preserved the names of the chief ladies of the pilgrim party, but many others went with Gul-badan Begam, and for all the royal purse bore the cost. She was the lady of highest birth, and was probably a widow, next came Salima Sultān Begam, widow of Barām and wife of Akbar. It was not usual for a wife to make the pilgrimage, but Muhammadan law stipulates that permission shall be granted to such wives as strongly desire to do so, and Salima's seems a case in point. Next comes a woman whose presence reveals pleasant things. She was Sultānam, widow of Akbar's uncle, 'Askarī, and of her it is recorded in Akbar's babyhood that she cared for him when

captured, with tender affection. It is probable that she had spent many years under the care and at the cost of the Emperor. Then come two step-nieces of Gul-badan, daughters of Kām-rān,—Hājī and Gul-‘izār Begams. I do not know which child of his is veiled under the title of Hājī. She seems to be making her second *haj*, and may well have gone on her first when her father was in Arabia. To these two the pilgrimage would have humanly pious significance, as a visitation to their father’s tomb and to that of Māh-chūchak *Arghūn*, whom all his children must have held in reverence. Next comes a grand-daughter of Gul-badan herself, named Um-kūlsūm (Mother of Plumpness), presumably after the daughter of her Prophet. Whether she was the child of Sa’ādat-yār is not said, nor whether the last name on the list, Salima Khānam, is that of a child of Gul-badan, as well as of Khizr Khwāja Khān. Here some of the inconveniences of polygamy show themselves to the seeker after family facts.

An old associate of our princess accompanied her in the person of Gul-nār *aghacha*, who had been of Bābar’s household and was, I think, one of the two Circassians sent as a present to him by Shāh Tahmāsp in 1526. She was now well on her way through life and considerably older than Gul-badan Begam. Another of the party had also been of Bābar’s household, Bibī Sarū-qad, or Sarū-i-sahī (Straight Cypress). She had been, too, in Humāyūn’s service and later had married, with full *nisbat*, Mu’nim Khān-i-khānān. She was a widow, had been a singer and reciter, and was a ‘reliable woman.’ Like her in accomplishments were Bibī Safiyya and Shāham *agha*, both formerly of Humāyūn’s household. Of the first and of Bibī Sarū-qad we have the happy little record that they sang in the moonlight on the road to Laghmān in 1549.

Fathpūr-sikrī seems to have been the rallying-point of the caravan and October 15th, 1575, the day of departure from it. It started earlier than was usual, perhaps because the ladies could not travel fast. Caravans generally left Āgra in the tenth month—this left in the seventh—of the

Muhammadan year Akbar's second boy, Murād, was told off to escort the ladies to the coast. Sālīm met them one stage out to give last greetings. At Gul-badān's request, Murād was excused from his long task of escort to Sūrat, and he went back to Āgra. One smiles to find that the princes were five and four years old. The real charge of the caravan was with several amirs, one being Muhammad Bāqī Khān *lōla*, and another Rumi Khān of Aleppo, who may have been Bābar's artillery officer.

It is a real loss that there is no record of the journey from our begam's pen. It was to be adventurous, even perilous, and it was of great interest whether as sight-seeing travel or pious duty. Surat was the port of embarkation, but there are no details of the road taken to reach it. Father Rudolf Acquaviva passed between the same two terminal points in 1580, but the military movements of the interval may well have allowed him to travel where the ladies could not go. When they were first in Surat, it had been a royal possession for two years only, and even when the Father took the fairly direct route from it to Fathpūr-sikrī, the Rājput peasantry was in arms against their new lord. The ladies were probably handed on from one garrisoned place to another as the immediate circumstances of conquest dictated. The main body of their *haj* joined them by a tedious and weary route, first escorted through Goganda by the army which was on active service, and then passing on to Ahmadābād, and, perhaps by water, to Sūrat.

The governor of the port, who was to have a good deal of trouble with this caravan, was Qulij Khān *Indiānī*, a sobriquet of pleasant sound in our begam's ears. He had inherited Timurid service from many generations, and his father had been a grandee of Sultan Husain *Bāyqā*.

'There was peace with the isles of the Franks,' but it took the ladies a year to get to sea. The *Akbar-nāma* attributes some part of the delay to a foolish panic about the Firingīs which, after the ladies had embarked in their hired Turkish transport, the *Salīmī*, seized the other

pilgrims who were to sail in the royal ship, the *Ilahī*. The real ground appears to have been want of a pass. The Portuguese were then masters of the Indian waters, and no ship might dare to put to sea without toll paid and pass obtained. Alarm about the Portuguese was natural, for there were stories that the very pass was sometimes a letter of Bellerophon enjoining capture and death. Abū'l-faṣl says that, although the ladies embarked, they were unwilling to put out and desert their fellow-pilgrims. This may be mere broidery, or the one ship may have had a pass and the other not. Perhaps, too, as theirs was a hired transport, it was also one privileged to sail free. However this may be, Badāyunī makes the difficulty clear by saying that Khwāja Sultān's ships lay idle from want of the pass. He also, it may be added, quotes a legal opinion that at this time it was not lawful to make the *haj* from India because, of the two practicable routes, one lay through the Shiah country of 'Irāq, and the other obliged a pass which bore the idolatrous stamp of the heads of the Virgin Mary and of Jesus Christ ('on whom be peace')

The *mīr haj* sent word to the Emperor of his plight, who at once despatched orders to Qulij Khān, in Īdar, to go to Sūrāt and arrange the difficulty. Qulij took with him a Cambayan, who was presumably a man versed in seafaring business,—hurried to Sūrāt and overcame the difficulty.

It took the ladies a year to get to sea, they sailed on October 17th, 1576. Their port of debarkation is not mentioned, some pilgrims sailed by the Arabian, some by the Persian Gulf. They spent three and a half years in Arabia, and were able to make the *haj* four times.

Some day perhaps a pious and enlightened Musalmān will set down the inner meaning he attaches to the rites of the pilgrimage. How interesting it would have been if our princess had told us what it was in her heart that carried her through the laborious duties of piety she accomplished during her long stay in her holy land! She might have given us an essential principle by which to interpret the

religious meaning which devout women attach to the rites commanded on the pilgrimage

The visitation duties are set down in Hughes' 'Dictionary of Isl'm,' where even their brief recital is attractive and adds to the wish of gauging the sentiment of believers in their efficacy. The acts prescribed are exhausting, not only to the body but also, one thinks, to the mind, because the very conception of the pilgrimage as a Divine ordinance keeps brain and heart tense, as all obedience does which sets the human will parallel to the Divine

The mere recapitulation of the prescribed ceremonies is impressive. The halt six miles from the city to put on the seamless wrapper (*ihram*), the chanting of the pilgrim song, the prayer of intention and of supplication for grace to make the visitation duly the contemplation touch, and salutation of the mystic black stone, the sevenfold encompassment of the *laba*, towards which from distant homes has been directed the prayer of the bygone years, the ascent of the Mount of Purity (*Sata*), and prayer and confession of faith upon it, the race seven times repeated from its summit to that of the Mount of Marwa, the common worship in the Great Mosque, and the sermon preached to the assemblage of common believers, the various pilgrimages and prayers of the eighth and ninth days, and on the tenth the extraordinary pelting of devils, which is symbolized by the patriarchal rite of the stoning of the pillars of Mina. Later in the same day occurs the final act of the *haj*, an animal sacrifice. Whether the ladies could pay a substitute to perform this is not said.

During these ten busy days the seamless wrapper is worn, after the sacrifice it is laid aside, and attention may be paid to the neglected toilette. The pilgrim stays three days longer in Makka—days of the 'drying of the blood of sacrifice,' 'three well-earned days of rest after the peripatetic performance of the last four.' Still, all is not finished, there should be more circuits of the *la'ba*, another stoning at Mina, and a draught drunk from the sacred well. Our princess would certainly do everything

which was due, and probably would go to Medina, and she would also make visitation to the tombs of many pious persons buried in the desirable soil of Arabia

In 1579 Khwāja Yahyā was *mān hay*, a friend of Badāyūnī, and the charitable man to whom Husain the Patcher (*tukruya*) was indebted for decent burial. He was commissioned to escort the ladies home, and also to bring back curiosities and Arab servants,¹ who may perhaps have been wanted for the Arab *sarāī*, established near the mausoleum of Humayūn, outside Dīhlī

The return journey was both adventurous and perilous. They were shipwrecked off Aden, and had to stay, some say seven, others twelve, months in that desolate spot, far less habitable then than now, with condensed water, a tide from the Suez Canal, occasional rain, and the British *rāj*. The governor did not behave well, and quitted the path of good manners, misconduct for which he was punished by his master, Sultan Murād of Turkey. One pleasant incident broke the gloom of the long delay. On a day of April, 1580, the rock-bound travellers saw a ship coming up from the south with the wind, and, wishing to know whose it was, sent a boat out to make inquiry. By a pleasant chance Bāyazīd² *bīyāt* with his wife and children were on board, and he shortened sail, though the wind was favourable, and gave and took news. Bāyazīd says that the persons who sent out the boat to him were Gul-badan Begam, Gul-'izān Begam, and Khwāja Yahyā. Perhaps

¹ The passage in the *Albar nāma* about these servants is in its author's later and difficult style. This led to mistake in my article of the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1898. I referred a difficulty the khwāja experienced to the ladies, whereas it was the servants who were unwilling to leave their Arabian domicile. Several other errors of that article are corrected in this book.

² His wife and a child died in Arabia, he wished to end his days on the sacred soil, and so sent home his other children. His wish also was to be laid beside his wife, and he tried her grave for several hours to see that it was neither too narrow nor too short. Happily for his readers, he did not stay in Arabia. His children were captured by the Portuguese, and he had to go back to their rescue. He sailed in 1582, but had long to wait in Mocha harbour for a wind, and thus, with other delays, kept him eight months on board.

the Emperor would refuse nothing to the Father,' and the family was carried off to freedom

The next thing known of our princess is that she wrote her *Humāyūn nāma*. The book is its sole witness, for no one speaks of it. It is not literature, but a simple setting down of what she knew or had heard, for the help of the *Akbar-nāma*. This was not her only composition, for she followed the fashion of her day and wrote verses. Mīr Mahdī Shirāzī has preserved in his *Tazkhiratu l-khuṭātīn* two lines of hers, in which her thought seems to be, 'No love, no fruit of life'

“*Har parī ki au bā 'ashaq khud yār nīst,*
Tū yaqīn mādān ki hech az 'umr bar khur dār nīst”

Nine copies were made of Bayazīd's *Humāyūn-nāma*, which was written in obedience to the royal command obeyed by Gul-badan Begam and also by Jauhar the Ewer-bearer. Of these two went to the Emperor's library, three to the princes Sālīm, Murād, and Danyal, one to our begam, two to Abū'l-faẓl, and one perhaps was kept by the author. This allotment brings out the little point that Gul-badan collected books. Badāyūnī has a curious passage about himself which also discloses something 'bookish' of Salima. 'On account of the book *Khud-afza*, which had disappeared from the library, and concerning Salima Sultān Begam's study of which the Emperor reminded me, an order was issued that my allowance should be stopped, and that they should demand the book of me'. He adds that Abū'l-faẓl did not lay his refutation before the Emperor, and he does not clear up the awkward doubt as to what he had done with Salima's desired book.

The remaining records of Gul-badan Begam's life are few and scanty. When she was seventy, her name is mentioned with that of Muhammad-yāi, a son of her daughter, who left the court in disgrace, again, she and Salima join in intercession to Akbar for Prince Sālīm, again, with Hamīda, she receives royal gifts of money and jewels. Her charities were large, and it is said of her that she added day unto day

in the endeavour to please God, and this by succouring the poor and needy. When she was eighty years old, and in February, 1603, her departure was heralded by a few days of fever. Hamīda was with her to the end, and it may be that Ruqaiya, Hindāl's daughter, would also watch her last hours. As she lay with closed eyes, Hamīda-bānu spoke to her by the long-used name of affection, ' *Tuu* ' (elder sister). There was no response. Then, ' *Gul badan* ! ' The dying woman unclosed her eyes, quoted the verse, ' I die,—may you live ! ' and passed away.

Akbar helped to carry her bier some distance, and for her soul's repose made lavish gifts and did good works. He will have joined in the silent prayer for her soul before committal of her body to the earth, and if no son were there, he, as a near kinsman, may have answered the Imām's injunction to resignation. ' It is the will of God '.

So ends the long life of a good and clever woman, affectionate and dutiful in her home life, and brought so near us by her sincerity of speech and by her truth of feeling that she becomes a friend even across the bars of time and creed and death.

PART II

GUL BADAN BEGAM'S BOOK, THE HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA

It is not generally known to English students of the (so-called) Mughal period of Indian history that Gul badan Begam wrote a book. It was not known to Mr. Erskine, or he would have given fuller and more accurate accounts of the families of Bābar and Humāyūn. It escaped even Professor Blochmann's wider opportunities of acquaintance with Persian MSS. Until the begam's *Humāyūn-nāma* was catalogued by Dr. Rieu, it was a literary *parda-nishān*, and since that time has been little better. Abū-'l-faẓl, for

whose information it was written, does not mention it, but the *Akbar-nāma* is not without indication of its use ¹

Bāyazid's *Tārīkh-i-humāyūn* was reproduced several times on its completion. Gul-badan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma* was written under the same royal order and for the same end. It would have been natural to reproduce it also, but no second example of it can be discovered by us in any of the accessible book-catalogues of Europe or India, and prolonged search, made by advertisement, private inquiry, and in person by my husband in India, has failed to disclose knowledge of its existence which may not conjecturally be traced to my own work upon it. Once hope arose that a second MS was to reward the search, because a correspondent intimated that he possessed for sale a MS which was inscribed as being the begam's. On examination this was found to be so, but the MS was a copy of the *kānūn-i-humāyūn* of Khwānd-amīn. It is now in the British Museum.

Hope was again aroused by a mention of Gul-badan's book in a recent work, the *Darbār-i-akbarī* of Shamsu-l-ulamā' 'Muhammad Husain azād'. Mr Beveridge paid two visits to the author in Bombay, but could learn nothing from him. He appeared mentally alienated, denied all knowledge of the work, and that he had ever written of it. His reference may conjecturally be traced to my article in the *Calcutta Review* upon Gul-badan Begam's writings, and does not, unfortunately, appear to indicate access to a second MS.

The MS from which I have translated belongs to the Hamilton Collection in the British Museum, and was bought in 1868 from the widow of Colonel George William Hamilton. It is classed by Dr Rieu amongst the most remarkable of the 352 MSS which were selected for purchase out of the 1,000 gathered in by Colonel Hamilton from Lucknow and Dihli. It does not bear the vermilion

¹ A passage about Bābar (*Bib. Ind.*, edit. I 87) closely resembles the begam's on the same topic, and a divergence, noted by Mr Erskine (Mems., 218 n) as made from Bābar's narrative by Abū'l-fazl, is made also by the begam.

stamp of the King of Oude, so the surmise is allowed that it came from Dihli. It has been rebound (not recently, I believe), plainly, in red leather, and it is unadorned by frontispiece, margin, or rubric. Whether there has ever been a colophon cannot be said, the latter pages of the work are lost. The folio which now stands last is out of place, an error apparently made in the rebounding. Catch-words are frequently absent, and there are none on the last folio. There are blank fly-leaves, prefixed and suffixed, of paper unlike that of the MS.

The absence of a second MS, and, still more, the absence of mention of the work, seem to indicate that few copies ever existed.

Dr Rieu's tentative estimate of the date of the British Museum MS (seventeenth century) does not, I am counselled, preclude the possibility of transcription so late in the sixteenth century as 1587 (995 H) onwards. It may be the first and even sole example.

Gul-badan Begam, as is natural, uses many Tūrki words, and at least one Tūrki phrase. Her scribe (who may be herself) does not always write these with accuracy, some run naturally from the pen as well-known words do, some are laboured in the writing, as though care had to be taken in the copying or original orthography.

Tūrki was Gul-badan's native language, it was also her husband's, it would be the home speech of her married life. Persian was an accomplishment. These considerations awaken speculation. Did she compose in Persian? or in Tūrki? That she read Tūrki is clear from her upbringing and her references to her father's book. She has one almost verbal reproduction of a passage from it retained in Tūrki.

The disadvantage of working from a single MS is felt at every point, and nowhere more than when the MS itself is under consideration.

TRANSLATION

OF THE

HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA OF GUL-BADAN BEGAM

NOTE ON THE PERSIAN TITLES

Of these there are two

1 '*Humāyūn-nāma* Written by Gul-badan Begam, daughter of Bābar Pādshāh' This is on the first fly-leaf, which is of paper differing in colour and texture from that of the body of the MS, and identical with that of four blank sheets which are bound up at the end of the MS, perhaps to allow of writing in the missing portion of the work.

2 'Accounts of Humāyūn Pādshāh Put together by Gul-badan Begam, a daughter of Bābar Pādshāh and a paternal aunt of Akbar Pādshāh' This stands on the first folio of the MS, which by the original paging is folio 10, and by the British Museum marking folio 2 (*a*)

IN the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate¹

There had been an order¹ issued, 'Write down whatever you know of the doings of *Firdaus mahānī* and *Jannat-āshyānī*'²

At the time when his Majesty *Firdaus-mahānī* passed from this perishable world to the everlasting home, I, this lowly one, was eight³ years old, so it may well be that I do not remember much. However, in obedience to the royal command, I set down whatever there is that I have heard and remember

First of all, by way of invoking a blessing (on my work), and in pious commemoration, a chapter (*juzū*) is written about my royal father's deeds, although these are told in his memoirs⁴

¹ Probably that mentioned by Abū l fazl, as issued for the gathering in of material for the *Akbar nāma* (H Beveridge, I 29) If so, the begam's book dates from about 1587 (995H) There are indications of its use by Abū l fazl

² Bābar's and Humāyūn's posthumous names, 'Dwelling and 'Nesting in Paradise' Several women, and notably Akbar's mother, have been named after death *Maryam mahānī*, 'Dwelling with Mary' Bābar's half sister, Shahr bānū, is styled by A F *Bilqīs mahānī*,—Bilqīs being the Queen of Sheba Many other examples might be quoted of the custom which, amongst some savage tribes, takes the extreme form of total suppression at death of the name borne in life, and towards which affection and reverence incline the most civilized peoples

³ Lunar years Bābar died December 26th, 1530 The begam's dates and numerical statements must always be taken lightly

⁴ From this treasury Gul badan's meagre historical sketch can be

From his Majesty *Sāhib-qānī*¹ down to my royal father there was not one of the bygone princes who laboured as he did. He became king in his twelfth² year, and the *khutba*³ was read in his name on June 10th, 1491,⁴ in Andijān, the capital of Farghāna (3a)

For eleven full years his wars and struggles against the Chaghatāi and Timūrid and Uzbek princes⁵ in Māwarā'u-n-nahr (Transoxiana) were such that the tongue of the pen is too feeble and weak to recount them

The toils and perils which in the ruling of kingdoms befell our prince, have been measured out to few, and of few have been recorded the manliness, courage and endurance which he showed in battle-fields and dangers. Twice he took Samargand by force of the sword. The first time my royal father was twelve years old, the second nineteen, the third time he was nearly twenty-two⁶. For six months he was besieged⁷ (in Samargand), and neither Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqarā, his paternal uncle,⁸ who

filled in *The Tūzkh i bābarī* (Leyden and Erskine Longman, Rees, etc., 1826) will be referred to in these notes as the 'Memoirs' or 'Mems'. Mr W. Erskine's 'History of India under Bābar and Humāyūn' will be indicated by 'B & H'.

¹ Lord of the fortunate conjunction, i.e., of Jupiter and Venus, a posthumous title of Timūr (1386-1405), from whom Bābar was fifth in descent.

² Bābar was born February 14th, 1483 (Muharram 6th, 888H). He therefore became king of Farghāna (Khokand) when 11½ years old.

³ The prayer and oration in which it is ordained that the name of the reigning sovereign should be recited. Cf. Dict. of Islam, Hughes, s.v. The histories show that it was formerly so recited in India. The term 'Ruler of the Age' filled Victoria's place.

⁴ Ramzān 5th, 899H [Text, 909H].

⁵ The first and second of this triad of foes were near and elder kinsmen, the third was the Shaibānī of the histories.

⁶ Bābar occupied Samargand three times. Twice he captured it, and the third time entered without a blow struck and amidst a popular welcome. The dates are respectively 1497, 1500, and 1511, and his age fifteen, seventeen, and twenty-nine.

⁷ By Shaibānī, after the second occupation.

⁸ *'ammū*. Husain was of the fourth, and Bābar of the fifth degree of descent from their common ancestor, Timūr. Bābar's father was (*anglice*) Husain's fourth cousin. As Husain was of an elder generation, Bābar calls him 'uncle'. If *'ammū* were ever used to denote an uncle by marriage, it would have triple application here, since Husain married in succession three paternal aunts of Bābar—Shahr



AMİR TİMÜR (SĀHIB QILĀN)

(ruled) in Khurāsān, nor Sultān Mahmūd Khān, his maternal uncle,¹ who ruled in Kāshghar, sent him help. When none came from any quarter, he grew desperate.²

At this difficult time, Shāhī Beg Khān³ sent to say 'If you would marry your sister Khānzāda Begam⁴ to me, (3b) there might be peace and a lasting alliance between us'. At length it had to be done, he gave the begam to the khān, and came out himself (from Samaiqand)⁵ With 200 followers on foot, wearing long frocks on their shoulders and peasants' bogues on their feet, and carrying clubs in their hands,—in this plight, unarmed, and relying on God, he went towards the lands of Badakhshān (Badakhshānāt) and Kābul.⁶

Khusrau Shāh's⁷ people and army were in Kunduz and the Badakhshānāt. He came and paid his respects to his Majesty,⁸ my father, who, being as he was manly and kind and generous, did not in any way touch the question of retaliation, although Khusrau Shāh had committed such crimes as the martyrdom of Bayasanghar Mīrzā and the blinding of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā, both of whom were sons of my royal father's paternal uncle. In addition to this, when in the early days of the forays,⁹ his Majesty chanced

bānū, Latīf and Payanda. Husain is the well known Mæcenas of Herāt (1498-1506).

¹ *taghār*. Sultān Mahmūd Khān was full brother of Qutluq nigār, Bābar's mother, so that here *taghār* is exactly equivalent to our 'maternal uncle'. Mahmūd is 'the Khān' and the 'elder Khān' of the Memoirs, and also *Jānahī* or *Khānahī* and *Jāngī*. He was murdered by Shaibānī in 1508.

² He was eighteen.

³ Abū l fath Muhammad Shāhbakht Khān *Uzbek* (Shāhī Beg Khān and Shaibānī).

⁴ For details of her life and that of all other women named in this book and some other contemporary works, see Appendix.

⁵ Early in 907H (July, 1501).

⁶ Muharram, 910H (June, 1504).

⁷ A Qipchāq Türk, chief beg of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā, the father of Bayasanghar and Mas'ūd. He was put to death by Shaibānī's Uzbeks in 910H. (1505).

⁸ Brevet rank. Bābar was an exile from his own kingdom of Farghāna, and not yet master of Kābul.

⁹ Türkī, *qazzāqī*, from *qazzāq* (Cossack) the name of the nomads whom the Russians term Kīrghīz. I think Gul badan uses it to de-

to cross his country, he was watched and rudely driven out. Now he was pleased to command that Khusrāu Shāh should take whatever his heart desired of his (own) jewels and golden vessels, and so he got leave to go to Khurāsān in kindness and safety, and took with him five or six strings of camels and five or six of baggage mules ¹ (4a)

His Majesty now set out for Kābul, which was occupied by Muhammad Muqīm, a son of Zū'l-nūn *Arghūn*, and grandfather of Nāhīd Begam ². He had captured it after Ulugh Beg Mirzā's ³ death from Mirzā 'Abdu-r-razzāq, son of his Majesty's paternal uncle (Ulugh Beg)

His Majesty reached Kābul in safety. Muhammad Muqīm kept command for a few days, and then by pact and agreement made over charge to the royal servants, and went off with goods and chattels to his father in Qandahār. This was in the last ten days of Rabī II, 910H ⁴. Being now master of Kābul, his Majesty went to Bangash, took it at a blow, and returned to Kābul.

Her Highness, the khānam, ⁵ his Majesty's mother, had fever for six days, and then departed from this fleeting world to the eternal home. They laid her in the New Year's Garden. His Majesty paid 1,000 coined *misqāl* to his kinsmen, the owners of the garden, and laid her there.

At this time urgent letters arrived from Sultān Husain Mirzā, saying (4b) 'I am planning a war against the Uzbegs. It would be excellent if you came too.' My royal father

scribe the time of her father's military incursions, made when he was trying to carve out a ruler's seat.

¹ The begam's brevity makes Bābar's capacity and forbearance seem alike remarkable. He had gathered a force, and safety was the condition of Khusrāu's surrender (1504). Mr Erskine writes (B & H, I 208) 'Bābar, whose abhorrence of Khusrāu was as deep as it was just, ordered his treasurer to send back the treasure, horses, and whatever had been presented to him, just as they were, although, says our author (Mirzā Haidar), the King had only one horse suitable for a person of his rank, and that was used by his mother.'

² Through his daughter Māh Chūchak.

³ A son of Abū sa'id, known as *Kābuli*. He died 1502.

⁴ October, 1504. Bābar was now twenty three, and had acquired more territory than his lost Farghūna.

⁵ Qutluq nigār. She died June, 1505.

might command of God. At length he set out to join the mirza. On the way news came that the mirza was dead. His Majesty, however, represented that this being so, it was advisable to return to Kabul but he replied: 'As we have come so far we will express our condolences to the prince. In the end he went on towards Khurāsān.'

When the prince heard of the royal visit they one and all set out to give him honourable meeting, except Badr-uz-Zaman Mirza who did not go because Barandug Beg and Zulfun Beg, — sons of Sultan Husayn Mirza — and in effect, did not let his Majesty who fifteen years younger than Badr-uz-Zaman Mirza it was right that he should be the first to bow, and that they should then embrace one another. Qasim Beg rejoined: 'Younger he is by years, but by the sword he has precedence because he has more than once conquered Samarkand by force of the sword.' (a) At length they agreed that his Majesty should bow on coming, and that Badr-uz-Zaman should then advance to show him honour and they should embrace. The mirza was not attending when his Majesty came in at the door. Qasim Beg, clutched my royal father's pirdle and pulled it and said to Barandug Beg and Zulfun Beg:

The agreement was that the mirza should come forward and that then they should embrace one another. The prince then advanced in great agitation and they embraced.

As long as his Majesty was in Khurāsān, each one of the princes showed him hospitality and feasts were arranged, and excursions to all the gardens and places of

¹ P. Barakzai in June 1006 (Muharram 912H). Husayn had died in Merv (Zulhijja 911H) on his way northwards from Herat and at P. b. H. b. Word reached P. Bar when he had already made a great journey and had crossed the Sulaymān and Dandān-chūlān passes to Kābulūd. After receiving the news he marched some 800 miles to the mirza's camp on the Murghab.

² Badr-uz-Zaman and Muhammad Mu'azzar Husayn sons of Sultan Husayn Mirza. The meeting was on November 6th, 1006 (Jumada II 912H).

³ P. Bar's Prime Minister and (I believe) relation. He was of the Qashghar tribe to which B. Bar's grandmother, Ais-daulat, belonged.

⁴ The Poles of Chingiz Khan. The names referred to again on points of etiquette.

interest They set forth to him the inconvenience of winter, and said 'Wait till it is over, and we will fight the Uzbegs' But they could not in any way settle about the war Eighty years¹ long had Sultān Husain Mirzā kept Khurāsān safe and sound, but the mirzās could not fill their father's place for six months When his Majesty saw that they were careless² about his expenses and revenue, he went to Kābul on the pretext of seeing the places he had assigned to himself (56) Much snow had fallen that year They took the wrong road His Majesty and Qāsim Beg chose one³ because of its shortness, but the amīrs had given other advice, and when this was not taken, they all left him without a thought for him He and Qāsim Beg and his sons made a road in two or three days by removing the snow, and the people of the army followed So they reached Ghūrband Some Hazāra rebels having met his Majesty here, there was fighting, and cattle and sheep and goods without number belonging to the Hazāra fell into the hands of his people Then they started for Kābul with their enormous booty

At the skirts of Mināi Hill they heard that Mirzā Khān⁴ and Mirzā Muhammad Husain *Gūrkān*⁵ had rebelled and

¹ A well rounded number Sultān Husain was born 842H (1488), and died 911H (1506) Bābar calls the joint kingship of his sons a strange arrangement and one never heard of, and quotes Sa'di's well-known couplet as applicable—'Ten darvishes can sleep on one rug, but one climate cannot hold two kings'

² While on the Murgh-āb, Bābar agreed to winter in Khurāsān, and he went with the joint-kings to Herāt in order to see the 'sights' of that renowned city He certainly worked hard, for he names some fifty-two which he saw in twenty days The invitation to winter was repeated, but neither quarters nor suitable conveniences (? revenues) were allotted Bābar delicately says he could not explain his real motive for not remaining, and left under pressure of necessity on December 24th, 1506, after snow had fallen along a route which was a month's ordinary journey

It was during this absence from Kābul that he married Māham, Humāyūn's mother

³ Through the Aimāq and Hazāra country, and south of his route to Herāt

⁴ Sultān Wais, a son of Bābar's paternal uncle, Mahmūd, and his maternal aunt (i.e., his mother's half sister), Sultān Nigār Khānam

⁵ Father of Haidar Mirzā *Dughlāt*, author of the *Tārīkh-i rashīdī* He married Khūb nigār, full sister of Bābar's mother

were holding Kabul. His Majesty sent a comforting and cheering letter (to his friends in the fort), and said: 'Be of good heart! I too am here (or) I will light a fire on the Hill of the Moon-faced Lady—do you light one on the Treasury so that I may be sure you know of our coming. In the morning we will fall on the enemy you from that side and we from this.' But he had fought and won before the people of the fort came out.

Mir As Khan hid himself in his mother's house—she was his Majesty's maternal aunt. Mir Muhammad Husan was in his wife's house. She was His Majesty's younger maternal aunt. He flung himself down on a carpet and in fear of his life cried to a servant: 'Lay it up!' His Majesty's people heard of this. They took him out of the carpet and brought him to the presence. In the end, his Majesty forgave the minor offence for the sake of his aunts. He used to go in his old fashion in and out of his aunt's house—and showed them more and more affection, so that no moment of trouble might dim their hearts. He assigned them place and holding in the plain country (or).

God the most High heaven freed Kabul from the power of Mir As Khan, committed it to my royal father's care. He was then twenty-three year old and had no child and greatly desired one. In his seventeenth year a girl had been born to him by Ayisha Sultan Begum, a daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mir As—but she had died in a month. The most high God blessed the taking of Kabul, for after it eighteen children were born. (1) Of my Lady (*Ham*⁴) who was Maham Begum there were born his Majesty the Emperor

¹ Text *Ham* *Ham* *Ham* *Ham* *Ham*. The I do not understand as there were certainly no mother. Brother present in Kabul now.

He was twenty-three when he took Kabul from Muhammad Muqim *frat* in 1601. Mir As Khan's rebellion took place two years later.

² *Lahran* in the Glory of Women. She was my first child, and I was just married. In a month, or forty days she went to the mercy of God. (Mem. 90.)

³ Written sometimes *Ham* and sometimes *Ham*. The Turki *Ham* is used as a title of respect from a junior to a senior. It has also the sense of elder brother, which makes application to a woman doubtful.

Humāyūn, and Bāibūl Mīrzā, and Mihr-jān (jahān) Begam, and Ishān-daulat Begam, and Fāiūq Mīrzā ¹

(2) Ma'sūma Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā, died in childbed The mother's name they gave to the daughter

(3) Of Gul-rukh Begam were born Kāmran Mīrzā, and 'Askari Mīrzā, and Shāh-rukh Mīrzā, and Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā, and Gul-izāi Begam

(4) Of Dil-dār Begam were born Gul-rang Begam, and Gul-chihā Begam, and Hindāl Mīrzā, and Gul-badan Begam, and Alwar Mīrzā ²

In short, in taking Kābul he got a good omen All his children were born there except two begams who were born in Khost, viz, Mihi-jān Begam, a daughter of Māham Begam, and Gul-rang, a daughter of Dil-dār Begam (7a)

The blessed birth of the Emperor Humāyūn, the first-born son of his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī*, occurred in the night of Tuesday, Zū'l-qa'da 4th, 913H (March 6th, 1508), in the citadel of Kābul, and when the sun was in the sign Pisces

That same year his Majesty was pleased to order the amīrs and the rest of the world to style him emperor (*badshah*) For before the birth of the Emperor Humāyūn he had been named and styled Mīrzā Bābāi All kings' sons were called mīrzās In the year of his Majesty Humāyūn's birth he styled himself *badshah*

They found³ the date of the birth in *Sultan Humāyūn Khān*, and also in *Shāh-(i)-fīroz-qadr* ⁴

After children had been born to him, news came that Shāh Ismā'il had killed Shāhī Beg Khān ⁵

(Cf Vambéry's 'Cagataische Sprach studien') Bābar uses the word (Mems 208), and Mr Erskine suggests to read 'My Lady'

¹ Born 1525, died 1527 His father never saw him

² Gul badan or her copyist does not balance accounts She says eighteen, and names sixteen children This may be a clerical error only

³ i.e., by *abjad* Cf Steingass' Persian Dictionary, s.v. *abjad*

⁴ 'The king, victorious in might'

⁵ At Merv, December 2nd, 1510 Cf B & H, I 302 On the removal of this formidable foe, Bābar again tried to regain his ancestral lands, but was still outmatched by the Uzbeks Defeat by them led him to take a road of less resistance through Bajaur to Hindūstān

bring men and labourers, etc., to your native land and cultivate it'

Qāsim Beg,¹ who was in Kābul, sent a letter saying 'Another prince has been born. I have ventured to write as an omen of the conquest of Hind and of taking its throne. As for the rest, the Emperor is master, whatever is his pleasure'² (let it be done). In an auspicious hour his Majesty named him Mīrzā Hindāl.

Having subdued Bajaur, his Majesty went towards the Bhīra country, and on his arrival made peace without plundering. He took four *laks* of *shāhrūkhās*³ and gave to his army, dividing them according to the number of his followers. He then set out for Kābul.⁴

Just now came a letter from Badakhshān saying 'Mīrzā Khān is dead,⁵ Mīrzā Sulaimān is young, the Uzbegs are near, take thought for this kingdom lest (which God forbid) Badakhshān should be lost' (sb). Until there should be thought taken, Mīrzā Sulaimān's mother⁶ had brought him (to the Emperor). Agreeably to this petition and their wish, the Emperor assigned to Mīrzā Sulaimān the lands and inheritance which had been his father's, and he gave Badakhshān to Mīrzā Humāyūn.

The mīrzā set out for his province. His Majesty and my Lady (*Ahām*) followed and also went to Badakhshān, and there spent several days together. The mīrzā remained

¹ Qāsim Beg *Qūchtn*, an ancient Beg of Andijān, and one of Bābar's best followers.

² Qy, as to the child's name. His true name was Muh. Nāṣir, but he is only known as Hindāl. He was Gul badan's full brother, and was given, before birth, to Māham Begum, who had lost all her children younger than Humāyūn. Cf 24a n.

³ Estimated by Mr. Erskine at about £20,000 sterling.

⁴ End of February, 1519. In his winning fashion Bābar relates that he forbade the news of his return to be taken to Kābul, and that there was therefore no time to put his boys, Humāyūn and Kāmran, on horseback, and that they were carried out in the arms of the nearest servants to offer their duty on his return, to a place between the fort gates and the citadel.

⁵ *Cir* 926H (1520). Cf *Moms* 286 n, and *Tār Rash*, Ney Elias and Ross, 878 n.

⁶ Sultān Nigār Khānam.

nurses and foster-brethren and ladies, and to all who pray for me' The gifts were made according to the list

Three happy days they remained together in the Audience Hall Garden They were uplifted by pride, and recited the *fātiha*¹ for the benediction and prosperity of his Majesty, and joyfully made the prostration of thanks²

The Emperor sent by Khwāja Kilān a large *ashrafī*,³ which weighed three imperial *sīr*, that is, fifteen *sīr* of Hind, for 'Asas He said to the Khwāja 'If 'Asas asks you, "What has the Emperor sent for me?" say, "One *ashrafī*,"' as there really was only one 'Asas was amazed, and fretted about it for three days His Majesty had ordered that a hole should be bored in the *ashrafī*, and that 'Asas should be blindfolded and the *ashrafī* hung round his neck, and that then he was to be sent into the *haram* The hole was bored and the *ashrafī* hung round his neck He was quite helpless with surprise at its weight, and delighted and very, very happy He took it in both hands, and wondered over it and said, 'No one shall get my *ashrafī*' Each begam, too, gave (? him) ten or twelve *ashrafī*, so he had seventy or eighty (11a)

After Khwāja Kilān Beg had started for Kābul, the Emperor made gifts in Agra to his Majesty Humāyūn and

¹ The first chapter of the Qurān

² In this prostration the forehead touches the ground

³ Perhaps from the Lodi treasury (Cf. J A S B Proceedings, 1888, Thomas, 423, Richardson's Ar & Per Diet, s v *sikka*, Memoirs of the Mughal Empire, Jonathan Scott, 8 and 8 n)

⁴ *Lat a night guard* The words preceding 'Asas offer much difficulty They may be read *ba 'ammū*,—to the paternal uncle of 'Asas But the story is of 'Asas, the night guard and not of his uncle Perhaps *'ammū* is a clerical error for *'amah*, bewilderment, misleading, and this would suit the story well Mr Beveridge has suggested to me to read *'Umarī*, i.e., an old servant of 'Umar Shaikh This, too, would be appropriate, for the victim of the hoax is clearly an old man

The title 'Asas is applied several times by Bībar One 'Asas was a boon companion and partook of Bībar's vow before the battle of Khānwā (Moms 288 and 354, *Irishita*, Pers Text, Briggs I 449) Gul badan names one (20b) as entrusted with the care of Bībar's tomb,—Muh 'Alī 'Asas I think he was brother to Miham Begam, and the governor of Kābul whom Kāmirān murdered in 1547

to all the mirzās and sultāns and amīrs. He sent letters in all directions, urgently saying, 'We shall take into full favour all who enter our service, and especially such as served our father and grandfather and ancestors. If such will come to us, they will receive fitting benefits. Whoever there may be of the families of *Sāhib qirān* and Chingīz khaṇ, let them turn towards our court. The most High has given us sovereignty in Hindūstān, let them come that we may see prosperity together.'

Seven¹ daughters of Sultān Abū-saīd came (to Hindūstān) Gūhar-shād Begam, and Fakhr-jahān Begam, and Khadija Sultān Begam and Badī u-l-jamāl Begam, and Āq Begam, and Sultān Bakht Begam.

(Also) Zainab Sultān Khanam, daughter of his Majesty's maternal uncle, Sultān Mahmūd khaṇ, and Muhibb Sultān Khānam,² daughter of *Ilācha* khaṇ (Ahmad), his Majesty's younger maternal uncle.

In short, all the begams and khanams went, ninety-six persons in all, and all received houses and lands and gifts to their heart's desire (11b).

All through the four years that (my father) was in Āgra he used to go on Fridays to see his paternal aunts. One day it was extremely hot, and her Highness my lady (*ilām*) said, 'The wind is very hot, indeed, how would it be if you did not go this one Friday? The begams would not be vexed.' His Majesty said, 'Māham! it is astonishing that you should say such things! The daughters of Abū-saīd Sultān Mīrzā, who have been deprived of father and brothers! If I do not cheer them, how will it be done?'

To the architect, Khwāja Qāsim, his Majesty gave the following order. 'We command a piece of good service from you. It is this whatever work, even if it be on a great scale, our paternal aunts may order done in their

¹ Six only named

² Wife of Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt, the historian

palace, give it precedence, and carry it out with might and main '.

He commanded buildings to be put up in Āgia on the other side of the river,¹ and a stone palace to be built for himself between the *haram* and the garden. He also had one built in the audience court, with a reservoir in the middle and four chambers in the four towers. On the river's bank he had a *chauhandī*² built (12a)

He ordered a tank made in Dholpūr, ten by ten,³ out of a single mass of rock, and used to say, 'When it is finished, I will fill it with wine'. But as he had given up wine before the fight with Rānā Sangā, he filled it with lemonade.

A year after Sultān Ibrāhīm's death, the rānā⁴ appeared from the Mandū (or Hindū) side with a countless host. Amīs and rājas and iānās, every one of those who had come earlier and paid duty to his Majesty, now became an enemy and went and joined the iānā, until Kūl-jalālī and Sambhal and Rāpī—every *paigana*,—and rā'is and iājas and Afghāns became hostile. Nearly two *laks* of cavalry assembled.

At this time, Muhammad Sharīf, the astrologer, said to the royal soldiers, 'It would be best for the Emperor not to fight, for the constellation *Sakkiz Yıldoz* (Eight Stars) is opposite'. Amazing perturbation fell upon the royal army. They became exceedingly anxious and troubled,⁵ and showed signs of cowardice (12b). When his Majesty saw his army

¹ i.e., opposite the fort.

² A building on the roof which has a door on each of the four sides. Vullers, 602. Badāonī uses *ghurfa*, upper room, as an equivalent. Cf. Elliot's History of India, V 347 and 503.

³ About 20 feet by 20 feet. (Mems 393 n.)

⁴ This decisive battle was fought on March 16th, 1527, on the skirts of the hill of Sikrī, at Khūnwā. Akbar's *pranomen* of Fatlapūr—the City of Victory—was given to Sikrī in 1573 to commemorate the Gujrat campaign.

⁵ When the fight had been won, Bībar soundly rated Muhammad Sharīf, gave him money, and dismissed him to the place from which he had emerged, apparently only to cause trouble. He had come to India with a royal kinsman from Kābul, and to Kābul in 1519 from Ghosht (Māham's home).

in this state, he thought over the whole position. As the enemy was close at hand, this device occurred to his blessed mind, he ordered the remnant of what remained over and above deserters and enemies, to gather together. One and all came—amīrs and khāns and sultāns, plebeian and noble, low and high. Then he addressed them, and said ‘Do you not know that there lies a journey of some months between us and the land of our birth and our familiar city? If our side is defeated, (God preserve us from that day! God forbid it!) where are we? where is our birthplace? where our city? We have to do with strangers and foreigners. It is in every way best for each man to set resolutely before himself the two alternatives: if we win, we are avengers of the cause of God, if we lose, we die martyrs. In either fate is our salvation, each is a step and upward stage in greatness.’

To this they all agreed. They swore by the divorce of their wives and on the Holy Book, they recited the *fātiha*, and said, ‘O King! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as there are breath and life in our bodies’¹ (13a)

Two days before the battle his Majesty renounced wine, and, indeed, he forswore all forbidden things. Following his example, 400 young men of name, who had given proof of manliness and one-mindedness and friendship, also renounced these things when he did. His Majesty broke up all forbidden utensils,—vessels of gold and of silver, goblets and flasks, etc., and he gave them to the poor and needy.

He also sent abroad *ḥimāns* with the announcement ‘We exempt (you) from all dues and octroi and tithe on corn, and from all illegal imposts, so that no one, trader or

¹ Mr Erskine thus gives Bābar's words ‘Every man dies. God only survives unchangeable. He who comes to life's feast must drink the parting cup of death. How much better to die with honour than to live with infamy!’

Perhaps, as Gul badan says, Bābar touched also the thought of home, and this would be recorded by the woman.

other, may be hampered in his comings and goings, but all may move unmolested and free from interference'

In the night¹ before the battle word was brought that Qāsim Husain Sultān,—a grandson of Sultān Husain Mirzā through a daughter, 'Āyisha Sultān Begam,—had come to within ten *lōs* (of the royal camp) on his way from *Khurāsān* (13*b*)

This news delighted his Majesty greatly. He asked, 'How many men are with him?' When he heard 'thirty or forty,' he at once sent off 1,000 troopers, all armed and equipped, at midnight, so that they might march in again with Qāsim Husain Sultān, and in this way the enemy and outsiders be let know that reinforcements had come in good time. Everyone who heard the plan thought it a good one.

Next morning, which was March 16th, 1527 (Jumāda II [13th], 933H), his Majesty arrayed battle against Rānā Sangā on the skirts of the hill of Sīkri, where now Fathpūr has been built² and peopled. By the Divine grace he was victorious and became an avenger of the cause of God³ /

A year later my lady (*ahām*), who was Māham Begam, came from Kābul to Hindūstān. I, this insignificant one, came with her in advance of my sisters, and paid my duty to my royal father. When my lady reached Kūl(-jalālī—i.e., 'Alighar), his Majesty had sent two litters with three horsemen (14*a*). She went on post-haste from Kūl to Āgra. His Majesty had intended to go as far as Kūl-jalālī to meet her. At evening-prayer time some one came and said to him 'I have just passed her Highness on the road, four miles out.' My royal father did not wait for a horse to be

¹ Bābar says that Qāsim had come earlier and with 500 men. Muhi Sharif, the 'rascally fellow' and 'evil minded wretch,' was with him (Memoirs, 852)

² How beautifully built may, in small part, be seen by visiting the Oriental section of the South Kensington Museum and there examining the architectural reproductions, the drawings of Mr W. B. Carpenter, the photographs, etc. The South Kensington Museum and the British Museum furnish numerous illustrations for Gul-badan Begam's MS, and add to it the charm of life and reality.

³ *Ghāsi*. Bābar now assumed this title, because he had vanquished non-Muhammadans.

saddled but set out on foot. He met her near the house of Mīham's *nanacha*¹. She wished to alight, but he would not wait and fell into her train and walked to his own house.

At the time of her meeting his Majesty, she desired me to come on by daylight and pay my respects to him.

nine troopers, with two sets of nine horses and the two extra litters which the Emperor had sent, and one litter which had been brought from Kabul, and about a hundred of my lady's Mughal servants, mounted on fine (*tipūchag*) horses,⁴ all elegance and beauty.

My royal father's khalifa⁵ with his wife Sultānam⁶ came as far as Naugram⁷ to meet (us). My *māmā*s⁸ had made me alight at the Little Garden and having spread a small carpet, seated me on it. They instructed me to rise when khalifa came in, and to embrace him. When he came, I rose and embraced him. Then his wife Sultānam came in

¹ *dirje hllh int nūmacha Maham*. This might read in the advance camp. Mīham's *nanacha* appears three in the MS. here and at 18b and 26r. She is clearly of the innermost circle. The word may be rendered 'dear little mother,' and is one of close affection.

² Cf. Mems. 423.

³ *Inqūz*. The Turks made large gifts by mimes and attached superstitious reverence to the number.

⁴ A *tipūchag* horse, according to Shaw, is long-necked like a Turkman horse, and it seems also to be one with speed, beauty, and specially trained paces. Vambery says, 'ein fettes, gutes Pferd'.

⁵ The above passage is inserted without break in the text and suggests transcription from an imperfect MS. It may be an enumeration of the items of the cortege which followed Mīham with Gul-badan.

⁶ Sayyid or Khwāja Nūr-ud-dīn Alī *Barlas* and Bībar's *car*. His brother, Junaid *Barlas*, married Shahr-bānū, a half sister of Bībar.

⁷ Clearly an intimate. There were close relations, as has been said, between this *Barlas* family and Bībar. Cf. Biographical Appendix, * n. Sultānam.

⁸ Some four miles from Agra and on the east of the Jamna. The royal palace was not yet built on the western bank. Cf. *Rajpūtāna Gazetteer*, III. 271.

⁹ Stengass translates 'mother,' 'matron,' and 'old women.' One *māmā* is named later, 'Fakhr-unnisā', my *māmā* (26a). She was the mother of Nadīm Khwāja *Jūla*. She is several times mentioned, and it appears from a MS. belonging to Colonel Hanna which Mr. Beveridge has examined, that she was mother-in-law of the celebrated Maham *anaga* who was Nadīm's wife.

too (14b) I, not knowing, wished to get up, but Khalifa raised objections, and said 'She is your old serving-woman. There is no need to rise for her. Your father has exalted this old servant (? himself) by giving such an order¹ about him. So be it! what power have slaves?'

From Khalifa I accepted 6,000 *shāhrulhīs* and five horses, and Sultānam gave me 3,000 and three horses. Then she said 'A hasty meal (*mā hazarī*) is ready. If you will eat you will honour your servants.' I consented. There was a raised platform in a pleasant spot, and a pavilion of red cloth with lining of Gujrātī brocade, and six canopies of cloth and brocade, each of a (differing) colour, and a square enclosure² of cloth with painted poles.

I sat in Khalifa's quarters. The meal drew out to almost fifty roast sheep,³ and bread and sherbet and much fruit. Having at length eaten my breakfast, I got into my litter and went and paid my duty to my royal father (15a).

I fell at his feet, he asked me many questions, and took me for a time in his arms, and then this insignificant person felt such happiness that greater could not be imagined.

When we had been in Āgra three months, the Emperor went to Dholpūr. Her Highness Māham Begam and this lowly person also went. A tank had been made there, ten (*qaz*) by ten, out of one piece (of rock). From Dholpūr his Majesty went on to Sikrī. He ordered a great platform made in the middle of the tank, and when it was ready, he used to go and sit on it, or to row about. This platform still exists.

They also made a *chaul andī* in the Sikrī garden, and my

¹ (?) as that she should rise to greet him.

² Text *chahār chuqa i sarāparda*. Cf. *Notices et Extraits*, Quatre-vingt-neuf, XIV, 498.

³ The 'fifty' sheep will not reduce by any reading I can suggest. Cf. *anglice* 'heaps of,' 'hundreds of,' etc. Perhaps the flock is a product of childish weariness recalled half a century later. Possibly one should read *paryāhūr* five foods, i.e., courses, dishes. Gulbadan is now between five and six. Her doubt as to the reception due to Sultānam rings true and Khalifa's words suggest a little play acting to please the small traveller, he treated her like a grown up, and she tried to act one.

royal father put up in it a *tū ḥana*,¹ where he used to sit and write his book.

I and Afghani *aqlacha* were sitting in the front of the lower storey when my lady went to prayers. I said to Afghani *aqlacha* 'Pull my hand.' She pulled, and my hand came out. My strength went and I cried (1*b*). Then they brought the bone setter and when he had bound up my hand the Emperor went to Āgra.

After his arrival word was brought that the begams were on the way from Kabul. My royal father went as far as Naugram to give honourable reception to my dearest lady (*ala jānam*), who was my oldest paternal aunt and my royal father's eldest sister. All the begams who had come with her paid their duty to the Emperor in her quarters. They were very happy and made the prostration of thanks, and then set off for Āgra. The Emperor gave houses to all the begams.

A few days later he made an excursion to the Gold-scattering Garden (*Bāgh-i al-ātshān*). There was a place in it for ablution before prayers. When he saw it, he said 'My heart is bowed down by ruling and reigning, I will retire to this garden. As for attendance, Iahn the ewer-bearer will amply suffice. I will make over the kingdom to Humayūn.' On this my lady (*alām*) and all his children broke down, and said with tears 'God keep you in His own peace upon the throne many many years, and may all your children after you reach a good old age!' (1*a*).

A few days later Alwar Mirza fell ill. His illness led to an affection of the bowels, which grew worse and worse in spite of all that the doctors could do, and at last he passed from this transitory world to the eternal home. His Majesty was very sad and sorry, and Alwar's mother, Dil dar Begam, was wild with grief for the child, who was a

¹ 'Perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing (Mems, 202 n.) Possibly and suitably, a mosquito room (*faur*, net). Cf. Khwāndamīr B. M. Or. 1,762, and Add. 90774, ff. 25-114.

² The *Tā-ūl-i-bābarī*.

³ Khānzāda Begam.

rarity of the world and unique of the age As her lamentation passed due bounds, his Majesty said to my lady and the begams 'Come, let us make an excursion to Dholpūr' He himself went comfortably and pleasantly by water, and the begams also begged to go by boat

Just then there came a letter from Maulānā Muhammad Faighārī (Parghālī) in Dihli, saying 'Humāyūn Mīrẓā is ill and in an extraordinary state Her Highness the begam should come at once to Dihli, for the mīrẓā is much prostrated' (16b)

My lady was very much upset on hearing this news, and started for Dihli, like one athirst who is far from the waters They met in Mathura To her experienced eye he seemed ten times weaker and more alarmingly ill than she had heard he was From Mathura the two, mother and son, like Jesus and Mary, set out for Āgra When they arrived, this insignificant one went with her own sisters to visit that royal angel of goodness

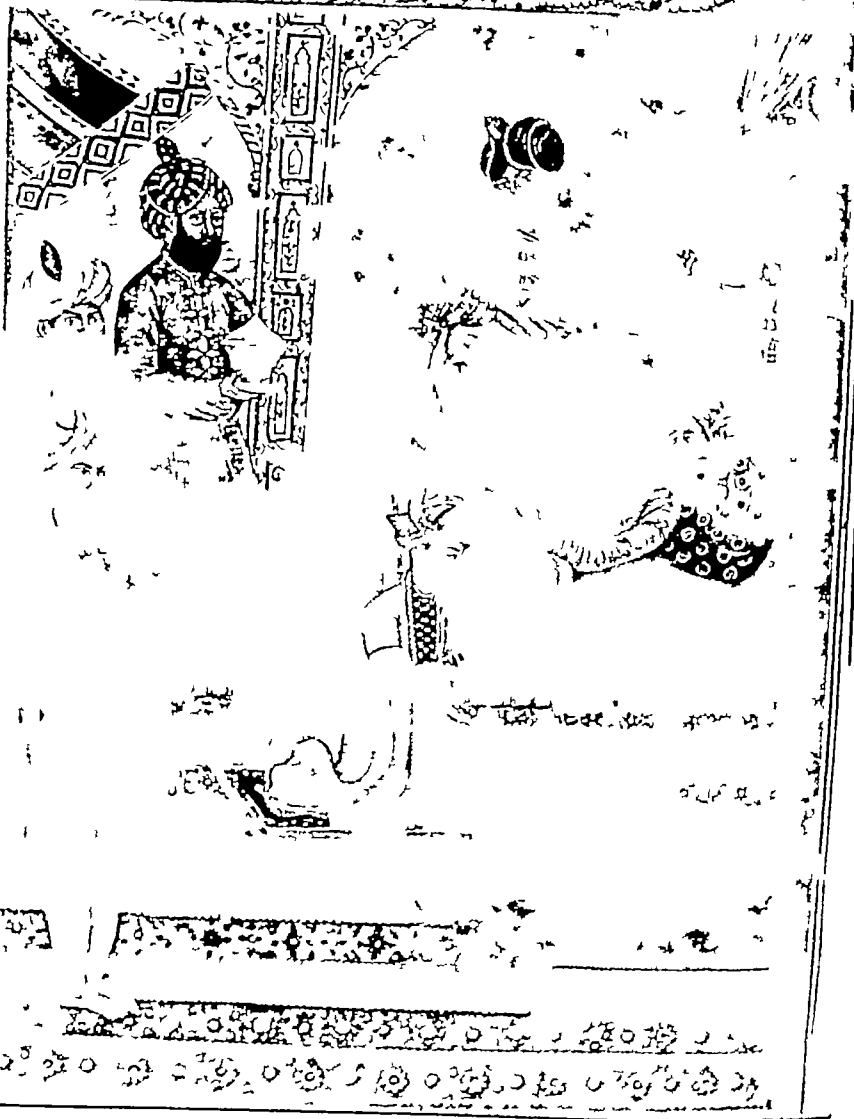
He was then growing weaker and weaker Every time he came to his senses, his pearl-dropping tongue asked for us, and said 'Sisters, you are welcome' Come, and let us embrace one another I have not embraced you' It might be three times that he raised his head and that his jewel-dropping tongue let fall these uplifting words

When his Majesty came and saw how it was, his light-revealing countenance at once became sad and pitiful, and he began more and more to show signs of dread (17a) On this my lady said 'Do not be troubled about my son You are a king, what griefs have you? You have other sons I sorrow because I have only this one'² His Majesty rejoined 'Māham' although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humāyūn I crave that this

¹ Cf *Bābar-nāma*, Ilmsky, 502 *et seq*, and P de Courteille, II 457 *et seq*, where is one of the supplementary fragments included in Kehr's *Bābar-nāma* (*Tūzūk*) and possibly taken from the Bukhārā MS (Cf Notes on the *Türkī* texts of the *Bābar-nāma*, A. S. Beveridge Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1900)

² All Māham's other children died in childhood

تصویر حالت بیماری شاهزاده باقر با برادر



BAHAR IN PRAYER, DEVOTING HIMSELF FOR HIS SON

cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and I desire the kingdom for him and not for the others, because he has not his equal in distinction'

During Humāyūn's illness¹ his Majesty walked round him and turned his face (in intercession) to his Reverence, Murtaza 'Alī Karīmu-l-lāh. He kept up that going-round from the Wednesday and made intercession from the Tuesday, in anxiety and deep dejection. The weather was extremely hot and his heart and liver burned. While going round he prayed, saying in effect 'O God' if a life may be exchanged for a life, I who am Bābar, I give my life and my being for Humāyūn'²

That very day he fell ill, and Humāyūn poured water on his head, and came out and gave audience (17b). Because of his illness, they carried my royal father within, and he kept his bed for two or three months.

As he grew worse, a messenger was sent to summon his Majesty Humāyūn, who had gone towards Kalinjar. He came post-haste, and on paying his duty to the Emperor, noticed that he was very feeble. Filled with compassion, he began to break down, and kept saying to the attendants 'How has he come to such a lamentable pass all at once?' He sent for the doctors, and said to them 'I left him well. What has happened all at once?' They said this and that in reply.

¹ The account of Bābar's self-surrender which follows is somewhat puzzling to translate, but the sense is clear and the important statements are in accordance with other sources.

² One of Kehr's (Ilmsky's) 'fragments' (which, if it be not Bābar's own, it is not improbable was added to the *Tūẓīh* by Jahāngīr) tells this story in Bābar's person. After rejection of the suggestion to sacrifice for Humāyūn's life the great diamond (? the *Koh-i-nūr*), the narrative continues (P. de C., II 460) 'J'entrai dans la chambre où il se tenait, et je tournai trois fois autour de lui, en commençant par la tête et en disant, 'J'assume sur moi tout ce que tu souffres. En même instant je me sentis tout alourdi, tandis que lui se trouvait léger et dispos. Il se leva en pleine santé, et moi je m'affaissai, accablé de malaise.'

Faith in the rite of circumambulation still prevails in Persia. Bābar it is clear, believed his devotion to have borne fruit. (Cf. Hughes Dict. of Islām, s.r. Intercession. For Karīmu-l-lāh, see Badāyūnī *Bib. Ind.* Text, III 191.)

The whole time my royal father kept repeating 'Where is Hindāl? What is he doing?' Just at this time some-one came in and said 'Mīr Bardī Beg, the son of Mīr Khurd Beg,¹ conveys his obeisance' My royal father, full of agitation, sent for him at once and asked 'Where is Hindāl? When will he come? What trouble waiting gives' (18a) Mīr Bardī said 'The fortunate prince has reached Dihli, he will wait on you to-day or to-morrow' On this my royal father said to Mīr Bardī Beg 'Ill-fated little fellow! I have heard that they married your sister in Kābul, and you in Lāhōr² It is because of the wedding festivities that you have (not)³ sooner brought my son, and so my weary waiting has been very long' He asked 'How tall has Hindāl Mīrzā grown?' and 'What is he like?' As Mīr Bardī was wearing one of the mīrzā's dresses, he showed it and said 'This is a robe of the prince which he bestowed on his servant' His Majesty called him nearer and said 'Let me see how tall and how big Hindāl has grown'⁴ He kept repeating, 'Alas! a thousand times alas! that I do not see Hindāl,' and asking everyone who came in 'When will Hindāl come?'

During his illness, he laid a command on my lady, and said 'Marriages ought to be arranged for Gul-rang Begam and Gul-chihra Begam (18b) When the royal aunt, my elder sister,⁵ honours me with a visit, tell her that I say it has occurred to me to give Gul-rang to Isān-timūr Sultān and Gul-chihra to Tūkhta-būghā Sultān'⁶

¹ Hindāl's guardian from birth (1519-1530) He had previously been Bībar's *bakāwal* (house steward) One of his sons, Khwāja 'Iābir Muḥammad, served under Humāyūn and Akbar, and was *mīr farāghat* (master of comfort) He may be the Mīr Bardī (qy a child's sobriquet, Master Full of fun) of this episode 'Iābir's son, Bāqī, was a sewer, i.e., table-decker (*sufra chī*)

² Hindāl, with whom doubtless Mīr Bardī and his father were travelling, was on his way from Badakhshān to the court

³ The text has no negative

⁴ Hindāl was now about eleven years old, so Mīr Bardī must also have been a boy

⁵ Khānzāda Begam—*aka jānam*—dearest lady

⁶ Isān (Ishān, or Yussun) was the ninth, and Tūkhta būghā the tenth, son of Alimad Khān, Bābar's maternal uncle They were uncles of Gul badan's own husband, Khizr Khwāja

Dearest lady the smiling one,¹ came, and they said to her 'The Emperor spoke in this manner, and it has occurred to him in such a way. It now remains to know your pleasure. I let it be as you wish.' She said the same and 'God grant blessing and peace.' His idea is very good. My *chicha*² herself and Badi ul Jamil Begam and Aq Begam, both of whom were paternal aunts of his Majesty, were conducted into the hall. Having raised an estrade³ and spread carpets and chosen a propitious hour Maham s *nana* ha made both *sultans* bow the knee⁴ in order to exalt them to the rank of sons-in-law.

Meantime his Majesty's disorder of the bowels increased. The Emperor Humayun broke down again when he saw his father's condition worsen and called the doctors, and said to them 'I think it well over and find some remedy' (19a). Having consulted together, they said 'Small is our

¹ *tala am I ana*

² This Turki word presents great difficulty.

Vambéry has *jiela* Kirghiz mother and *chicha* aunt (inferentially maternal). Shaw *chicha* Ouzbeg mother. P. de Courteille Diet *chicha* an elder sister. The word has in Samarkand the meaning 'maternal aunt'.

It occurs again in the text (23a) and is used for Gul badan's sisters, the brides of this page (19a) so that it may be right (spite of the singular number) to read 'my elder sisters themselves'—i.e., the brides. Put it might be 'my mother'.

The word occurs at least once in the *Memoirs* (Hm 116, lrs. 987). It is preceded by one which Hminsky writes *yanla* and Irskiné *Bilch* (*Bega*). The letters of both words might be identical and the points only decisive. Shaw says *yanqa* is an elder brother's wife. Vambéry, *belle sœur*, *Schirakerin* and Irskiné (208 n.) bridesmaid by which, I believe is meant one who leads the bride to the bridegroom—an exactly appropriate use here since Habiba *yanqa* brings her daughter Ma summa to marry Babar. (N.B.—Shaw writes *yanqa* and *chichā*, where Vambéry and others have a final round *ha*.)

But if the *chicha* of Mems. 187 is to be read 'elder sister', Babar can apply it only to Khinzada Begam (elsewhere called by him *aulugh iqāchī* (Hm, 116), and this would I believe make the reading of *Bilch* (*Bega*) difficult since Khinzada could not be called anything less than *Khānam*. The same objection would apply to the reading of *chicha* as mother or as maternal aunt. This inclines one to read *yanla*, and not *bilch* at Mems. 187 and the *Zainab* of the sentence may be grand daughter (*nabīra*) through the female line of the *belle sœur*, or bridesmaid, of Khānzāda Begam. But nothing is clear as to the relationship.

³ Text *sufā dāda*. Perhaps, content was given to all but *suffa*, estrade, fits better with the following *basā!*

⁴ *Zānū zānū inda*, literally, 'striking the knee'. Mems., 204 n.

luck, for our remedies are of no avail. We hope that God, the most Holy, will soon give one from His invisible treasures.'

When they felt his Majesty's pulse, they came to the opinion that there were symptoms of the same poison as that given him by Sultān Ibrahim's mother. It was in this way that ill-fated demon (the mother) gave a *tōla* of poison to one of her maids, and said 'Take this and give it to Ahmad the taster and tell him to put it in some way or other into the special dishes prepared for the Emperor.' And she promised him large rewards. The ill-fated demon did this although his Majesty used to call her "mother," and had assigned her place and lands with every favour, and had been kindly pleased to say 'Consider me as in the place of Sultān Ibrahim'.¹ But as ignorance prevails amongst those people, she did not regard his kindnesses. The (fitting) hemistich is well known

'Everything reverts to its original type,
(Whether pure gold, or silver, or tin)'²

To cut short the story the cook (Heaven having made him blind and deaf,) spread the poison which had been brought and given to him, on the Emperor's bread only, and so little was eaten. But the symptoms of this illness were like that one's, seeing that day by day he lost strength and became more and more emaciated (196). Every day the disorder increased and his blessed countenance changed.

Next day³ he called his chiefs together and spoke after this wise: 'For years it has been in my heart to make over my throne to Humāyūn Mirzā and to retire to the Gold scattering Garden. By the Divine grace I have obtained all things but the fulfilment of this wish in health of body. Now, when illness has laid me low, I charge you all to acknowledge Humāyūn in my stead. Fail not in loyalty

¹ Her son, who died fighting Bābar at Pānipat.

² Pers and Hind Proverbs, T. Roebuck, Calcutta, 1824, p. 124, and Monis, 13.

³ (?) after Humāyūn's arrival.

to him. Be of one heart and one mind with him. I hope to God that Humayūn also will bear himself well towards men.

‘Moreover, Humayūn I commit to God’s keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people and all of these I confide to you.’

At these words hearers and onlookers wept and lamented. His own blessed eyes also filled with tears.

When his family and the people within the *haram* heard of these occurrences they were stupefied and overwhelmed, and cried and lamented.

Three days later he passed from this transitory world to the eternal home. The death took place on Monday, December 26th, 1530 (Jumada I 5th 937H) (201).

They brought out our paternal aunt¹ and our mothers² on the pretence that the doctors were coming to look. All rose. They took all the begams and my mothers to the Great House³.

Black fell the day for children and kinsfolk and all. They bewailed and lamented. Voices were uplifted in weeping, there was utter dejection. Each passed that ill-fated day in a hidden corner.

The death was kept concealed. After a time Araish Khān,—he was an amir of Hind,—said ‘It is not well to keep the death secret, because when such misfortunes befall kings in Hindustān, it is the custom of the *bāzār* people to rob and steal, God forbid that the Mughals not knowing, they should come and loot the houses and dwelling places. It would be best to dress someone in red, and to set him on an elephant, and to let him proclaim that the Emperor Bībar has become a dervish and has given his throne to the Emperor Humayūn.’ This his Majesty Humayūn ordered to be done. People were at once reassured by the proclamation, and all offered prayers for

¹ Khānzāda Begam

² Bībar’s wives

³ Perhaps ‘palace,’ and the sense may be that they did not go to their separate residences but remained nearer to the dead.

his welfare On Friday, December 29th, 1580 (Jumāda I 9th, 987H), the Emperor Humāyūn mounted the throne, and everyone said 'May all the world be blessed under his rule' (20b)

After that he came to visit his mothers and sisters and his own people, and he made inquiry after their health and offered sympathy, and spoke with kindness and commiseration. He was pleased to order 'Let each keep the office, and service, and lands, and residence which he has had, and let him serve in the old way'

On the same day Hindāl Mirzā, having come from Kābul, paid his homage to the Emperor, who received him with kindness, and was very happy, and bestowed on him many things from the treasures left by their father

After my royal father's death, there were the good works and consecrated days of the first assembly¹ at his tomb.² His Majesty named Muhammad 'Alī 'asas³ its guardian, and ordered the appointment of sixty good reciters of the whole Quṛān and readers with good voices, so that the congregational prayers might be said five times daily and the whole Qurān recited, and prayer offered for the soul of the royal dweller in Paradise (*Indāus-mahānī*) (21a) The whole of Sikrī—now known as Fathpūr—together with five *laks* charged on Bayāna, was given as an endowment to the

¹ *maṛṭa* Lavery (Afghan Diet.) gives as the first meaning of this word 'a party of ambassadors, or persons sent to make peace between two tribes', and, secondly, as 'the business of making peace, or an arrangement between two tribes'. Lane and other writers render it 'battle field' and 'battle, etc'. Steingass adds 'hubbub' 'turmoil' (modern colloquial). Gulbadan uses it for the common social assemblies she names, and here for the gathering of relations at a tomb.

² Babar's body was laid first in the Rām or Arām Bagh (Garden of Rest), on the opposite side of the river from the present *Taj mahal*. Later it was taken to Kābul. Mr. Irfān (B & M, I 517 *et seq.*) quotes a charming passage from Burns' 'Travels in Belhāra' (II 121 *et seq.*), which describes Babar's self-chosen resting place. He follows this by an eloquent estimate of Babar's character which makes clear his regret in bidding farewell to the great and vivid personality he has so admirably set before his readers.

³ *i.e.*, of the night guard. I believe he was the brother of Maham Begam.

makānī, Biban¹ and Bāyazīd advanced from the direction of Gaur. On the news of this, his Majesty at once left Āgra and moved to meet them. He defeated them, and then went to Chanāda (Chunār),² took it, and thence returned to Āgra.

My lady, who was Māham Begam, had a great longing and desire to see a son of Humāyūn. Wherever there was a good-looking and nice girl, she used to bring her into his service. Maywa-jān, a daughter of Khadang (? Khazang), the chamberlain (*yasāwal*),³ was in my employ. One day (after) the death of his Majesty *Firdaus mahānī*,⁴ my lady said 'Humāyūn, Maywa-jān is not bad. Why do you not take her into your service?' So, at her word, Humāyūn married and took her that very night (22a).

Three days later Bega Begam⁵ came from Kābul. She became in the family way. In due time⁶ she had a daughter, whom they named 'Aqīqa. Maywa-jān said to Lady (*Aha*) Māham Begam, 'I am in the family way, too'. Then my lady got ready two sets of weapons, and said 'Whichever of you bears a son, I will give him good arms'. Then she packed up the arms, and got ready gold and silver walnuts. She procured also the (special) arms of a Mughal commander, and was very happy, and

¹ Text, Bibban. Biban and Bāyazīd were two distinguished Afghān chiefs and supporters of the fallen Lodī dynasty. The defeat named here occurred at Daura, on the Gumtī, 1531 (937H).

All who love the story of an adventurous life, chequered through character of individuals in a marked degree, should fill out Gul badan's brief narrative from Mr. Erskine's life of Humāyūn

² 1532 (938H). Taken from Shīr Shāh late in 1532 (939H).

³ An attendant on a man of rank, who carries a gold or silver staff (Johnson, *Pers. Diet.*, s.v.) chamberlain in the service of Khāns of Tūrkistān (Zenker, s.v.). Gul badan's use of the word (81b) would allow a more extended sense.

⁴ Text has also *dar hayāt khud*. This is not the only instance of a similar redundant expression.

⁵ Bega had had one son, Al amān. She is known in the later histories as Hājī Begam, but she made her pilgrimage in 972H. She was captured at Chausa in 1539 (946H) by Shīr Shāh, and most writers give her at this date the brevet title of Hājī. It is probable that *Bega* was not her personal name. It is the title of a lady of rank, and answers to *beg*.

⁶ Text, *b'ad az yāh sūl*, which, read literally, spoils the story.



THE EMPEROR HUMĀYŪN (1517-1556)
(ILLUSTRATION FROM A PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT)

with his sons, Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, made their escape a few days later

There was perpetual disturbance from these people during the years we were in Hind

When his Majesty returned from the campaign against Biban and Bāvarid, he was in Āgra¹ for about a year. He said to my lady 'I am sad at heart in these days. If you approved, I would go with you to Gualiar'. Her Highness my lady and my mother (*ājam*),² and my sisters Masuma³ Sultan Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister Moon, and Gulrang Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister Rose,—we all were in Gualiar in attendance on the beneficent ladies⁴

As Gul-chihra Begam was in Oude, and her husband, Tūkhṭī bughā Sultan, went to the mercy of God, her attendants wrote to his Majesty from Oude and said 'Tūkhṭī bughā Sultan is dead (23b) What is the order about the begam?' His Majesty said to Mir Zaycha⁵ 'Go and bring the begam to Āgra. We also are going there'

At this time her Highness my lady said 'If you approve, I will send for Bega Begam and Aqīqa, so that they also may see Gualiar'. She despatched Naukār⁶ and Khwāja Kabīr, who brought them from Āgra

¹ 'Occupied in dreamy speculations of false sciences'—i.e., astrology (B & H, II 14). The date is 1534 (941H)

² The histories tell us that the Gualiar expedition was a military demonstration against Bahādur Shāh of Gujrat. Khwānd amīr fixes its date as Shabān 941H (February, 1533)

³ Taken as it is written this name might be charmingly translated as 'My desire,' but considered with other words in this text after which the enclitic *am* (my) is incorrectly written, it seems that prosaic 'my mother,' Tūrki, *achām*, is safer. In favour, however, of reading *ājam*, desire, is the wording on 27b (No 48 of the guest list), *ājam uālida mā*, our mother. *ājam* occurs also at 29b

⁴ Her husband, Muhammad zamīn, is the rebel of this name just spoken of

⁵ *Chīcha*, which I have rendered 'elder sister' to suit the actual relationship between Gul badan and her two sisters. Cf 18b n

⁶ The aunts, presumably

⁷ The Chief Astrologer

⁸ Bābar names this man as being sent from India in charge of gifts to Kābul (Memoirs, 337), and Gul badan names him again (67b) as guardian of the begams' doorway in the citadel of Kābul

accompanied my mother¹ This will have been before he went to Guālīn and began to build²

At the end of the mourning for my lady, his Majesty went to Dihlī³ and began to build the fort of Dīn-panā⁴ He then returned to Āgra

Dearest lady⁵ (Khānzāda Begam) said to his Majesty 'When will you make Mīrzā Hindāl's marriage feast?' His

que Humāyūn, soit un fils [*ic*, Bārbūl], cadet par rapport à lui, l'aîné par rapport à mes autres enfants et trois filles, dont l'une était Mīhr-jān, il n'y en avait pas un qui ne fût mort en bas âge Je souhaitais vivement de lui voir naître un frère ou une sœur [*ic*, a child of Māham There were other children of other wives]

'Précisément à cette époque Dil dār āghācha se trouvait enceinte Je ne cessais de répéter, "Plut à Dieu que l'enfant qui va naître, sortit du même sein que Humāyūn!" À quoi ma mère [*sic* Tūrki text, Pninsky, 271, *hazrat wālida*] me répondait, "Si Dil dār āghācha met au monde un fils, ne pourrais-je pas le prendre et m'en charger?" "Rien de mieux," faisais-je à mon tour

'D'ordinaire les femmes ont la manière suivante de consulter le sort, quand elles veulent savoir si elles auront un fils ou une fille Elles prennent deux morceaux de papier, sur l'un elles écrivent, Alī ou Hasan, sur l'autre Fātma, puis elles les placent dans deux boules de limon qu'elles mettent dans une coupe d'eau Celles des deux qui s'ouvre la première, leur sert à pronostiquer l'avenir, si elle renferme le nom d'un garçon, il y aura un garçon, si c'est celui d'une fille, il y aura une fille, disent-elles On employa cette méthode, ce fut un enfant mâle qui en sortit En recevant cette bonne nouvelle, j'écrivis aussitôt pour en faire part à ma mère [*sic*] Quelques jours plus tard, effectivement Dieu me donna un garçon Trois jours après sa naissance et avant de l'annoncer, on enleva l'enfant, bon gré, mal gré, à sa mère et on l'apporta chez moi où on le garda Lorsque j'en donnai avis à ma mère [*sic*], celle-ci apprenant qu'elle avait obtenu l'objet de ses vœux, donna au jeune prince le nom de Hindāl, qui était pour nous de bon augure Par cet arrangement cet enfant fût pour moi [*? nous*] à la fois un frère cadet (for Humāyūn) et un fils (for Māham and himself)

The words *hazrat wālida* cannot mean the mother of Bābar She had been dead some fourteen years They may be equivalent to *Sultān wālida*—*ic*, the mother of the heir apparent Certainly it was Māham who adopted Hindāl This initial misconception as to the identity of *Hazrat wālida* runs through the whole translation of this most interesting passage According to Gul badan, Fārūq (born in 932H.) was Māham's son Bābar names the birth (Mems, 348)

¹ *ic*, returned to her own mother's charge *ic*, Dil dār's

² An obscure passage Humāyūn was building about this time (Elliot, V 126)

³ Beginning of Zū'l hijja, 939H (June—July, 1538)

⁴ Humāyūn nāma, Khwānd amīr (Elliot, V 125)

⁵ Cf 156 n

5 Gūhar-shād Begam

6 Khadija Sultān Begam

Upon another cushion sat our paternal aunts, the sisters of his Majesty, *Firdaus-makānī*

7 Shahr bānū Begam

8 Yādgar Sultān Begam

(NB — Other guests of the right follow)

9 'Āyisha Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Husam Mirzā

10 Ulugh Begam, daughter of Zainab Sultān Begam, a paternal aunt of his Majesty

11 'Āyisha Sultān Begam

12 Sultānī Begam, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mirzā, paternal (great-) uncle of his Majesty¹ and mother of Kilān Khān Begam (25a)

13 Bega Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Khalil Mirzā, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty

14 Māham Begam²

15 Begī Begam, daughter of Ulugh Beg Mirzā *Kabulī*, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty

16 Khānzāda Begam, daughter of Sultān Mas'ūd Mirzā, on her mother's side, grand-daughter of Payanda Muhammad Sultān Begam, paternal (grand-)aunt of his Majesty

17 Shāh Khānam, daughter of Badī'u-l-jamāl Begam (No 2)

18 Khānam Begam, daughter of Āq Begam (No 3)

19 Zainab Sultān Khānam, daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Khān, eldest maternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty

20 Muhibb Sultān Khānam, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān,— known as Ilācha Khān, the younger maternal uncle of the elder³ Emperor (Bābar)

¹ The words used of Sultānī do not grammatically apply to 'Āyisha, but I believe she is also a daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mirzā and is Bābar's first wife, who left him under the influence of an elder sister, perhaps Salīqa Sultān (Āq Begam). Salīqa married a son of Sultān Mahmūd Mirzā, and may have acted under the evil impulses of the family quarrels which did so much to embitter, if also to stimulate, Bābar's early ambitions.

² This is not 'my lady,' whose death has been already recorded.

³ *Kilān*, perhaps, great

21. Khānīsh, sister of Mīzā Haidar and daughter of (a) maternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty

22 Bega Kīlān Begam¹

23 Kichak Begam

24 Shāh Begam, mother of Dil-shād Begam, and daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam (No 1), paternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty

25 Kichakna Begam.

26 Apāq (Āfāq) Begam, daughter of Sultān Bakht Begam (No 4)

27 Mihī-liq (? Mihī-bānū) Begam, paternal aunt of his Majesty

28 Shād Begam, grand-daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā, and daughter of a paternal aunt of his Majesty (? No 22)

29 Mīhr-angez Begam, daughter of Muzaffar (Husain) Mīzā, and grandchild of Sultān Husain Mīrzā (25b) They had great friendship for one another (? Shād and Mihī-angez), and they used to wear men's clothes and were adorned by varied accomplishments, such as the making of thumb rings² and arrows, playing polo, and shooting

¹ Probably the daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā and mother of Shād Begam (No 28) by a son, Haidar, of Sultān Husain Mīrzā

² Text *zih gīrī tarāshī*, which might be experimentally rendered carving thumb rings, a gentle art of the day. But if *wa* be inserted, each word would represent a separate accomplishment of the well bred in knightly arts. These would be congenial to a lady who played polo (*chaugūn*). Cf Bābar's account of Haidar's accomplishments (Ilminsky, 14, Mems, 18, P de C, 22), and Haidar's own recital in his prologue to the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*

I suggest to take *tārashī* (a word not used by Bābar or Haidar) as equivalent to the fletchery (*ang*), or the 'making arrow heads' (*parī ān*), of Bābar

Another possible reading has been suggested to me by Mr Beveridge —(a) *z hikīrī tarāshī*, 'by cutting arrows'. *Hikīrī* is a Hindī name for cultivated reeds grown on low marshy grounds (Wilson's Glossary, s v, and Platt's Hindustānī Dict). There is nothing improbable in Gul-badān's use of a Hindī word. Arrows were fashioned from these reeds and men at-arms practised the art. Gujrāt reeds were exported for arrows to Persia. The omission of the *alif* of *az* is not infrequent in the MS

A few words on the *zih gīr* find fit insertion here. It is a thumb ring worn on the right hand as a protection against the fret of the bow string both in drawing and release. Persians, like the Japanese and Mongols and Chinese, drew with the thumb. The *zih-gīr* is of eccentric

with the bow and arrow. They also played many musical instruments.

30 Gul Begam

31 Langu Begam

32 Khan ('Lan) Begam

33 Afroz-banu Begam

34 Āgha Begam

35 Lirora Begam

36 Darlas Begam

There were other begams, very many, adding up altogether to ninety six stipendiaries. There were also some others.

After the Mystic Feast (938 H) came Mirza Hindal's wedding feast (Jauhar, 944 H). Some of the begams already named went away,¹ and (of those) some had sat at the right hand in that assembly (*i.e.*, the Mystic Feast).

Of our begams:

37 Āgha (Taha, --*pasim*, *atla*), Sultan *aqlācha*, mother of Yādgar Sultan Begam

38 Atōn mama

39 Salima

40 Sakima

41 Bibi Habiba

thickness and unequal width, elongating on one side into a tongue. This elongation lies along the inner side of the thumb, and points towards the thumb tip. In drawing the thumb crooks round the string, which pulls against the *zih qir*. The arrow is released by straightening the thumb and the string then flies over the hard surface of the ring. The *zih qir* is of jade, crystal, ivory, brass, gold, etc. Some are chased and carved and some are jewelled. In December, 1898, a remarkable one was offered for sale at an auction in Edinburgh of Lord Dalhousie's collections and the jewels of his daughter Lady S. G. Brown (Connemara). It is cut from a single emerald, and inscribed '*Jihat zih qir shah-i-shahān Nadir alab qiran bar tašhīr-i-hind az jauāhar-i-hana intilhab shud*' ('Selected for a thumb ring for the king of kings and lord of happy conjunction Nādir, from the jewel room on the conquest of Hind').

An interesting account of Persian archery is included in the 'Book of Archery, G. Afar Hansard (Lond., 1840). It, however, calls the *zih qir*, *safn*. *Safn* is the rough skin of a fish or lizard which is used to smooth the arrow shafts. (Cf. Lane's *Ar. Dict.*)

¹ *Ba nūlāyat* (2) to Kabul and other outside places.

* Perhaps this is an explanation of the paucity of right hand wedding guests.

- 42 Hanīfa Bega
 And the others who had sat¹ at the Emperor's left on
 embroidered divans
 43 Ma'sūma Sultān Begam
 44 Gul-rang Begam
 45 Gul-chihra Begam
 46 This insignificant one, the broken Gul-badan
 47 'Aqīqa Sultān Begam
 48 Ājam, our mother, who was Dīl-dār Begam ²
 49 Gul-barg Begam
 50 Bega Begam (28a)
 51 Māham's *nanacha*.
 52 Sultānam, the wife of Amīr (Nizāmu-d-dīn) *Khaltfa*
 53 Alūsh Begam
 54 Nāhid Begam
 55 Khurshīd *kūha*, and the children of my royal
 father's foster-brothers
 56 Afghānī *aghācha*
 57 ³ Gul-nār *aghācha*
 58 Nāz-gul *aghācha*
 59 Makhdūma *āgha*, the wife of Hindū Beg
 60 Faṭīma Sultān *anaga*, the mother of Raushan *kūha*
 61 Fakhrū-n-nisā' *anaga*, the mother of Nadīm *kūha*
 62 The wife of Muhammadi *kūha*
 63 The wife of Mu'yid Beg
 64 The *kūhas* of his Majesty Khurshīd *kūha*
 65 Sharīfu-n-nisā' *kūha*
 66 Fath *kūha*
 67 Rabī'a Sultān *kūha*

¹ (?) At the Mystic Feast Its left hand guests have not been specified
 There are no repetitions of names, although the list seems to give the
 guests at both feasts Perhaps down to and including No 36 the
 names are of begams who were at the first feast, and then went away
 Then come 'our begams' of the right, whose home was near Humiyūn,
 and who were at both feasts

² Cf 23b n

³ Nos 57 and 58 are, perhaps, the two Circassians whom Shah
 Tahmīsp sent as a gift to Bībar (Mems, 347) Gul nār is named in
 Abū 'l-fazl's list of pilgrims who went with Gul badan to Makka in
 983H, and as being of Bābar's household They (Nos 57 and 58) are
 named also by Firishṭa

68 Mah-liqa *lāla*

69 Our nurses (*anaqa*)

70 Our *lālas*

71 The begams' people and the wives of the amirs

Those who were on the right

73 Salma Bega

74 Bibi Neka

75 Khanam *āqha*, daughter of Khwaja 'Abdu-l-lāh
Maruārūd

76 Nigir *āqha*, mother of Mughal Beg

77 Nar Sultān *aqha*

78 Agha *lāla*, wife of Mu mm Khan

79 Daughter of Mir Shah Husam, (illegible) Bega

80 Kısak Maham

81 Kabuli Maham

82 Begi *āqha*

83 Khanam *āqha*

84 Sa'adat Sultan *āqha*

85 Bibi Daulat bakht

86 Nasīb *āqha*

87 (Illegible) Kabuli

Other begas and aghas, the wives of the amirs, sat on this hand, and all were present at the marriage feast (26)

This was the fashion of the Mystic House (there was) a large octagonal room in which they gave the feast, over against this a small room, also octagonal. In both every sort of profusion and splendour appeared. In the large octagonal hall was set the jewelled throne, and above and below it were spread out hangings (*adsaqahāī*) embroidered with gold, and wonderful strings of pearls (*shadhīhā*) hung, each 1½ yards (*qaz*) in length. At the end of each string (*larī*) were two glass globes. There had been made and hung some thirty or forty strings.

In the small room, in an alcove, were set a gilded bedstead and *pān*-dishes,¹ and water-vessels and jewelled drinking-vessels, and utensils of pure gold and silver.

¹ This word excites curiosity as to the time when Gul badan's people learned to eat *pān*.

Facing west (was) the audience hall, facing east, the garden, on the third side and facing south, the large octagon, and on the side facing north, the small one. In these three houses were three upper rooms. One they named the House of Dominion,¹ and in it were nine military appurtenances, such as a jewelled scimitar and gilded armour, a broad dagger and a curved dagger, and a quiver, all gilt, and a gold-embroidered overmantle² (27a)

In the second room, called the House of Good Fortune, an oratory had been arranged, and books placed, and gilded pen-cases,³ and splendid portfolios,⁴ and entertaining picture-books written in beautiful character⁵

In the third room, which they called the House of Pleasure, were set out a gilded bedstead and a coffer of sandal-wood, and all imaginable pillows. Then in front were spread specially choice coverlets,⁶ and before these table-cloths, all of gold brocade. Various fruits and beverages had been got ready, and everything for merriment and comfort and pleasure.

On the feast day of the Mystic House, his Majesty ordered all the *mīrzās* and *begams* to bring gifts,⁷ and everyone did so. He said 'Divide the gifts into three heaps'. They made three trays of *ashrafīs* and six of *shāhrukhīs*. One of *ashrafīs* and two of *shāhrukhīs* he

¹ As to this threefold classification, Elliot and Dowson, V, 119, may be consulted.

² Six articles only are separately named, but the *qūr* (translated armour) may be taken in the sense given to it in the *Āin* (Blochmann, 109), and include four weapons, which makes the total the mystic nine. Cf. *Āin*, l c, and plates (N B—The numbering of the weapons [l c p 110] does not agree with that of the plates. Plate X should be consulted.)

³ *qalam dān*. Several such are to be seen at the S. K. M. They are boxes damascened or painted with pictures, about 10 inches by 8 inches, and contain writing implements. 'Gilded' does not seem an appropriate epithet. Perhaps the dictionaries define imperfectly.

⁴ *juz dān*. Perhaps the beautiful book covers of the day. Those having flaps might be called portfolios.

⁵ *muraqqa'*

⁶ *nihālchā*. Placed, I presume, over carpets.

⁷ *sāchag*. This word appears to have a special meaning of wedding gifts, but Gul badan uses it elsewhere more widely.

gave to Hindū Beg and said 'This is the share of Dominion, give it to the mīrzās and chiefs and vazīrs and soldiers' (27b)

He gave in the same way to Mullā Muhammad Farghārī (Parghālī) and said 'This is the share of Good Fortune Give it to those who are eminent and respectable, and to theologians and religious men, to ascetics and graybeards, and dervishes and devotees, and the poor and the needy'

Concerning one tray of *ashrafīs* and two of *shāhīukhīs* he said 'This is the portion of Pleasure This is mine Bring it forward' They did so He said 'What need is there to count?' First he himself vouchsafed his blessed hand and said 'Let them take to the begams on one small tray *ashrafīs* and on another *shāhīukhīs* Let each person take her hands full' What was left, that is two trays of *shāhīukhīs*,—which may have been 10,000,—and all the *ashrafīs*,—about 2,000—he gave in largesse, and scattered¹ first before the *walī 'u-n-nī'matān* (beneficent seniors), and then to those present at the entertainment No one received less than 100 or 150, and those in the tank especially received very much (28a) His Majesty was pleased to say 'Dearest lady' if you approved, they might put water in the tank' She replied 'Very good,' and went herself and sat at the top of the steps People were taking no notice, when all at once (?) the tap was turned and water came (28a) The young people got very much excited His Majesty said 'There is no harm, each of you will eat a pellet of anise² and a bit of comfit³ and come out of there' Upon this, everyone who would eat the comfit came out quickly The water was as high as their ankles To end the story, everyone ate the comfit and all came out

Then the viands of the feast were set forth, and robes of

¹ *nizār* Again a word which, like *sāchaq*, would seem to fit the marriage feast better than the accession

² *shīt* The text has no points and would yield *seb*, apple, but anise is the better remedy against cold.

³ *ma'jūn*, any medical confection, but commonly an intoxicant Here it may be some preventive of chill.

honour were put on,¹ and gifts bestowed, and head-to-foot dresses given to the comfit-eaters and others

On the margin of the tank was a room (*tālār*)² fitted with tale windows, and young people sat in the room and players made music. Also a woman's *bāzār*³ had been arranged, and boats had been decorated. In one boat was made (?) the semblance of six people (*hasī*) and six alcoves (*lanj*), in (another) an upper room, and below it a garden with amaranthus and cockscombs and larkspurs⁴ and tulips. In one place there were eight boats, so that there were eight pieces⁵

In short, everyone was astonished and amazed who beheld what gift of contrivance the great God had bestowed on the blessed mind of his Majesty (28b)

THE DESCRIPTION OF MĪRZĀ HINDĀL'S (MARRIAGE) FEAST IS
AS FOLLOWS⁶

Sultānam Begam (i.e., the bride) was a sister of Mahdī Khwāja⁷. My father's brother-in-law (*yazna*) had no child except Ja'fai Khwāja, and there was no child (?) of Khānzāda Begam)⁸. Dearest lady had taken care of Sultānam

¹ It was now that 12,000 *lhi'ats* are said to have been distributed. In this passage Gul badan twice uses the expression *sar u pāi*. Perhaps one might say that the 'young people' were given new clothes from head to foot, and so shake off the fetters of the rigid *lhi'at*, *sar-u-pāi*, and 'honorary dresses'.

² The dictionaries I have seen, explain *tālār* as a saloon built of wood and supported on four columns, and this is appropriate here. Le Strange and Haggard (Vazīr of Lonkurān) say, 'Alcove or chamber in which a ruler sits to give public audience and hear suitors'. It is raised above the level of the (*c g*) courtyard, so that petitioners are below the *hakīm*. Approaching this meaning is the 'throne' of the dictionaries.

³ Cf. *Āin*, Blochmann, 276, *Khushroz*, or Day of Fancy Bāzār.

⁴ *nā firmān*, stubborn, (?) because they will break and not bend. Balfour (Cyclopædia) and Forbes (Hind. Dict.) give larkspur, Fallon, poppy. An account of the boats, etc., may be read in B M MS Add 80,774, where is a translation by Sir H. Elliott's *munshī* from Khwānd amīr.

⁵ *parcha*. Perhaps flower gardens, perhaps Fr. *pièce*. Cf. *Un appartement de deux, trois pièces*.

⁶ Jauhar's date for this is 944H. (1537).

⁷ Many difficulties gather round this name. Cf. Appendix s n Mahdī Khwāja.

⁸ The copyist has perhaps omitted one *āka janām*.

as though she were her child. Sultānam was two years old when Khānzāda Begam took charge of her. She (Khānzāda) loved her very much, and thought of her as a brother's child of her own. She made a most entertaining and splendid feast.

A *lūshka*¹ and hangings (*adsaqa*)² and five divans and five pillows for the head (*yīstūq*), and one large pillow and two round ones (*yalūla*), and girdles (*qūshqa*) and veils (*naqāb*), together with a tent³ with three gold-embroidered cushions and head-to-foot dresses for a prince, with collar and bordering of gold embroidery, and bath-wrappers (*fauta*) and napkins (*rūpāk*) and embroidered towels (*rūmāl*) and an embroidered mantle (*qūrposh*) to be worn over the armour.

For Sultānam Begam nine jackets (*nīm-tana*)⁴ with garniture of jewelled balls,⁵ one of ruby, one of cornelian,

¹ M. Quatremère uses this word twice with perhaps two meanings (Notices et Extraits, IV 324-325 and 406-8). At p. 408 he translates it *kiosques*, and it seems to be a building. At pp. 324 and 406 he leaves it untranslated. (Here it may have the sense given by Gulbadan.) It is named amongst items prepared for ambassadors at a post-house. These are 'kat, trône, bastar, estrade, lūshka, jūnlī, sandalī, siége, etc.' Gulbadan might intend to name a canopy or screen for a sleeping place in a large room or a movable kiosk with sleeping comforts.

² Cf. 22b

³ A word follows *tent* which I cannot make out. It resembles *j* (*h, ch*) *l-gh* (no vowels).

⁴ *nīm-tana*, i.e., demi-corps. Like many of Gulbadan's words, this is marked by Steingass as 'modern colloquial'. Apropos of this, Dr. Fritz Rosen says in the preface of his *Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar*, that the Persian of Irān differs 'in every respect' from the Persian of India. The Persian of Gulbadan allows one to feel at home with the *vazīr* of Lonkurān, and with Dr. Rosen's own book. Perhaps the difference he indicates is between the literary and colloquial Gulbadan's Persian, however, is presumably that of contemporary Irān, and her teachers were probably Persian-born. Dr. Rosen's remark appears to require some restriction.

⁵ *tukma* (*dār*), usually translated *buttons*, but the button is so associated with the button hole as to suggest a fastening. A dressmaker might say 'ball-trimming'. Globular buttons were and are placed round the neck and hem of a bodice. The *vazīr* of Lonkurān ordered a jacket with garniture of twenty-four gold buttons, smaller than a hen's and larger than a pigeon's. Vests trimmed with 'buttons' (*Mems*) are repeatedly named by Bābar as gifts.

one of emerald, one of turquoise, one of topaz, and one of cat's eye.

Again of necklaces, nine, and one embroidered collar and boidering, and four short jackets¹ with ball-trimming (*tukma-dār*), and one pair of ruby earrings and another of pearls, three fans,² and one royal umbrella

One *dnakht*³ and two *khutb*³ and other furniture and effects, and household goods and chattels and workshops⁴ of all sorts (20a) Khānzāda Begam gave everything she had collected, and she arranged a feast such as had not been made for any other child of my royal father She planned it all and carried it all out

nine *tipūchāq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles, and gold and silver vessels and slaves,⁵ Tūrki and Circassian and Arūs (? Rūs) and Abyssinian,—of each (race) a royal gift of nine

What my royal father's brother-in-law⁶ (Mahdī Khwāja) gave to the mīrzā was a set of nine *tipūchāq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles, and

¹ *chār qartījī*, a suggested rendering only Johnson gives *kartī* (*qartī*) as a short boddice reaching to the hips, and the *qar* recurs in other words, having the sense of a body garment, e.g., *qartaq*, a short-sleeved jacket, *qarza*, a woman's vest

² *pankha*

³ I find no help as to these words in the dictionaries My only suggestion as to their possible meaning is too slightly based to be of value It is this In the South Kensington Museum, Oriental Section, I have seen tall lamp stands so shaped that they recall the *Qutb* pillar outside Dihli That such stands would be a part of good household furnishing the South Kensington Museum allows us to suppose We have our 'tall lamps,' our 'pillar lamps,' and also our 'branched candle sticks,' which may be a term parallel to *dnakht*, a tree

⁴ *kār khānahā* These may be the kitchen and its plenishing, the goldsmith's, with his tools, furnaces, and appliances, the perfumer's, etc Cf Aīn, Blochmann, and *Tār Rashī*, E & R, 470

⁵ *ghulāmān*, which I have rendered slaves, because they were a gift But I know no warrant for such servitude as is thus implied

⁶ *yazna*, which is explained by Vambéry and Steingass as 'husband of the king's sister' Nizāmu d dīn Ahmad styles Mahdī Khwāja *damād*, which Meninsky and Steingass explain as 'husband of the king's sister' and 'son in law' I do not find *yazna* rendered son in law by any of the dictionaries To read *yazna* 'brother in law of the king' agrees with the detailed statement of Mahdī's relation to Bābar made by Bāyazīd *bīyāt* Cf Appendix, s n Khānzāda.

gold and silver vessels, and two other sets of nine horses, baggage animals, with velvet saddles and bridles, and brocade and Portuguese cloth, and Tūrkī and Habshī and Hindī slaves,—in all, three sets of nine, and three head of elephants

In his Majesty's leisure after the feast came news that the vazīr of Sultān Bahādur, Khurāsān Khān by name, had attacked Bayāna. His Majesty despatched Mīrzā Asharī, with several amīs, Mīr Faqr-'alī Beg and Mīr Tardī Beg, etc. These went to Bayana and fought and defeated Khurasān Khan¹ (20b). The Emperor set out for Gujrāt shortly afterwards, in prosperity and safety. It was on the 15th of the revered Rajab 941H² that he quite decided to go himself to Gujrāt. He set up his advance camp in the Gold-scattering Garden, and there spent a month while the forces were gathering in.

On court days, which were Sundays and Tuesdays, he used to go to the other side of the river. During his stay in the garden, *ājam* (Dil-dār Begam) and my sisters and the ladies (*haramān*) were often in his company. Of all the tents, Ma sūma Sultān Begam's was at the top of the row. Next came Gul-rang Begam's, and *ājam*'s was in the same place. Then the tent of my mother,³ Gul-barg Begam and of Bega Begam⁴ and the others.

They set up the offices (*hār-khānahā*) and got them into

¹ Mīrzā Muqīm, Khurāsān Khān

² January 29th, 1535. Abū l faẓl gives Jumada I, 941H. (November, 1534) as the time for collecting the troops. Perhaps the begam's date is that of departure, a day liable to postponement when Humāyūn was in pleasant quarters.

³ It may be that the copyist has transferred the words 'my mother' from a quite usual place,—preceding or following the *ājam* of the previous sentence. They are inappropriate to Gul barg Begam, at least, I have never seen them used to describe a brother's wife, and such I believe this Gul barg to be. We know of a 'Bibi Gul barg, mentioned somewhat condescendingly (21a) by Māham Begam, I incline to take Gul barg there and here as Khalīfa's daughter, and the former wife of Mīr Shāh Husain Arghūn. Cf. Appendix, s n Gul barg.

⁴ This is, I think, Humāyūn's wife and the mother of 'Aqīqa. The object of Gul badan's enumeration of the tents seems to be desire to show that Bābar's daughters and widow had places of honour higher than Humāyūn's family.

order When they had put up the pavilions (*khurma*) and tents (*khari-gāh*) and the audience tent (*bari gāh*), the Emperor came to see the camp and the splendid set-out, and visited the begams and his sisters. As he had dismounted somewhat near Ma'sūma Sultān Begam's (tent), he honoured her with a visit. All of us, the begams and my sisters, were in his society (30a). When he went to any begam's or sister's quarters, all the begams and all his sisters used to go with him. Next day he came to the tent¹ of this lowly person, and the entertainment lasted till the third watch² of the night. Many begams were there, and his sisters, and ladies of rank (*beqahā*) and of position (*āghahā*), and other ladies (*āghāchahā*), and musicians and reciters. After the third watch his Majesty was pleased to command repose. His sisters and the begams made resting-places (*takīa*) in his presence.³

Bega Begam woke (us) up, and said 'It is time for prayers'⁴. His Majesty ordered water for ablution⁵ made ready where he was, and so the begam knew that he was awake. She began a complaint, and said to him 'For several days now you have been paying visits in this garden, and on no one day have you been to our⁶ house. Thorns have not been planted in the way to it. We hope you will deign to visit our quarters also, and to have a party and a sociable gathering there, too. How long will you think it right to show all these disfavours to us helpless ones? We too have hearts. Three times you have honoured other places by visits, and you have run day and night into one in amusement and conversation' (30b).

When she had finished, his Majesty said nothing, and

¹ *khāna*, lit, house

² *palr*. Gul badan names the Hindūstānī division of time into watches on which her father had commented as being a novelty to himself (Mems, 831)

³ It seems, as again later on, that they fell asleep where they were seated, on mattresses and provided with pillows.

⁴ The early morning prayers, about which the opinion is expressed that prayer is better than sleep.

⁵ *vazū'*, ablution before prayers. Cf Hughes, Dict of Islām

⁶ From what follows, Gul barg would seem to be the fellow sufferer

went to prayers At the first watch of the day he came out and sent for his sisters and the begams, and for Dil-dār Begam, and Afghānī āghācha, and Gul nār āghācha, and Merwa-jān and Āghā-jān, and the nurses (*anaqahā*) We all went, and he said not a word, so everyone knew he was angry Then after a little he began 'Bibī, what ill-treatment at my hands did you complain of this morning?' and 'That was not the place to make a complaint You all (*shumā*) know that I have been to the quarters of the elder relations (*uālī'u-n-ni'matān*) of you all (*shumāyān*) It is a necessity laid on me to make them happy Nevertheless, I am ashamed before them because I see them so rarely It has long been in my mind to ask from you all a signed declaration (*siḥlī*), and it is as well that you have brought me to the speaking-point I am an opium-eater If there should be delay in my comings and goings, do not be angry with me Rather, write me a letter, and say "Whether it please you to come or whether it please you not to come, we are content and are thankful to you "'

✓ Gul-barg Begam wrote to this effect at once, and he settled it with her¹ Bega Begam insisted a little, saying 'The excuse looked worse than the fault² (31a) We complained in order that your Majesty might lift up our heads by your favour Your Majesty has carried the matter to this point¹ What remedy have we? You are Emperor' She wrote a letter and gave it to him, and he made it up¹ with her also

On February 18th, 1534 (Sha'bān 14th, 941 H), he set out from the Gold scattering Garden and marched for Gujrat, to fall upon Sultān Bahādur They confronted one another at Manhasur (Mandsūr), a battle was fought, and Sultān Bahādur, on his defeat, fled to Champānū Then

¹ *ba Gul barg Begam daryāftand*

² A familiar proverb Cf Steingass, 840, s v 'azr

³ *daryāftand* Gul badan frequently uses this word as meaning to embrace and to greet, a sense not mentioned by Johnson or Steingass The *ba* of the earlier instance (note 1) induced me to give it the notion of coming to an understanding Cf 16b

his Majesty resolved to pursue him Sultān Bahādur left Champānīr and went towards Ahmadābād¹ His Majesty took the country of Ahmadābād also, and portioned out the whole of Gujāt to his men Ahmadābād he bestowed on Mīrzā 'Askārī,² Bahrūch on Qāsim Husam Sultān,³ and Patan on Yādgār-nāsir Mīrzā⁴

He himself, with a small following, went from Champānīr to visit Kanbāyat⁵ (Cambay) A few days later there came a woman with news, and said 'Why are you sitting here? The men of Kanbāyat have gathered, and will fall upon you unless your Majesty rides off' The royal amīrs attacked the rabble,⁶ and got them into their hands and cut them in pieces (31b)

His Majesty then went to Baroda, and from there towards Champānīr⁷ We had settled down, when there

¹ Taking his treasure with him, Sultān Bahādur fled before Humāyūn to Champānīr, Ahmadābād, Cambay and Diu

² Humāyūn's half brother

³ Grandson, through a daughter, of Sultān Husam Mīrzā Bāyqrā, on his father's side an Uzbek

⁴ Humāyūn's first cousin, the son of Bābar's half brother Nāsir He was a posthumous child Mr Beveridge has drawn my attention to the fact,—of which there are other examples,—that he is called Yādgār, a souvenir, of Nāsir, his father

⁵ This excursion preceded the allotment of fiefs Gul badan's way of putting the pursuit of Bahādur is borne out by some other writers. This was Humāyūn's first sight of the sea, and the spectacle seems to have been more in her mind than was Bahādur Akbar's first sight of the sea is also commemorated in the histories

⁶ Abū'l fazl calls them Bhils and Gawārs (H B I 809) They were rude tribesmen acting in Bahādur's interests Maternal affection saved the small royal camp The 'woman' had a son a slave in it, and she purchased his freedom by revealing the designs of her fellow tribesmen Although Cambay had not furnished the assailants, it paid in fire and pillage for the attack It lay near, was an enemy's town, and such an incident as the onslaught of the Bhils would not allow of fine distinction of race and person

⁷ Behind this dull statement is a stirring episode Humāyūn took Champānīr after a four months' blockade, by night escalade of a rock so nearly perpendicular that seventy or eighty iron spikes had to be driven in to allow ascent Thirty-nine men climbed up Bairām Khān was the fortieth, Humāyūn the forty-first of the three hundred who mounted Such a Bābar like episode makes regret the keener that Humāyūn's life was ruined and stained by his slavery to a drug The loot of Champānīr was enormous, it had been regarded as im pregnable, and was full of treasure It was taken in 1536 (948 H)

امیر	نام و زمان	نام پدر	نام مادر	موسم	سال و زاد	محل تولد
	عرف و فواید	حسن	یافته‌ند	افغان	باجرست	سوادیکاله



SHIR SHĀH AFĠĠĀN

was a tumult, and Mīrzā 'Askarī's people left Ahmadābād and came to the Emperor. They represented to him that Mīrzā 'Askarī¹ and Yādgar-nāsir Mīrzā had conspired, and wished to go to Āgra. On hearing this, he himself was forced to go, he left the important affairs of Gujāt [(?) its pacification], and turned away and went to Āgra. Here he spent as much as a year.²

He then went to Chanāda (Chunār), and took it,³ and also Benares. Shīr Khān was in Charkanda,⁴ and made an offer of service, saying 'I am your old servant. Give me a place with a fixed boundary in which I may establish myself.'

His Majesty was considering this, when the king of Gau Bangāla⁵ came wounded and a fugitive. For this reason he gave no attention (to Shīr Khān), but marched towards Gaur Bangāla. Shīr Khān knew that his Majesty had gone there, and went himself also with a large detachment of horse, and joined his son (Jilāl Khān), who was in Gau with his servant Khawāṣ Khān. Shīr Khān sent them out, and said 'Go and fortify Garhī'⁶ (32a)

Both came and occupied Garhī. His Majesty had written to Jahāngīr Beg 'Advance a stage, and go up

Humāyūn now relapsed into an evil mood of feasting and indolence. He remained near Champīnīr, and affairs entered on a recurrent phase. There was complete relaxation of discipline.

Gul badan's 'we had settled down' (*nishīsta budīm*) allows the inference that she and other ladies had joined the camp. A later instance will be found of the inopportune presence of women and children with the army. But it may mean merely 'we were comfortably awaiting events' in Āgra.

¹ He was thinking of having the *khutba* read in his own name in Āgra. Such an aspiration in Humāyūn's brothers was encouraged by his own abdications of sovereignty.

² A fatal year which allowed Shīr Khān to gather force. Gul badan's recital of the historical events of this time has no value.

³ Shīr Khān

⁴ Jharkand

⁵ Saivīd Mahmūd Shīh. He had been defeated by Shīr Khān (Cf. Erskine's notes on Stewart's Jauhar, B. M. Add. 26,603, p. 12.)

⁶ 'The gate of Bengal,' a pass between it and Bihār, and which has a hill on one hand and the Ganges on the other. It is the Terā garhī or Tila gully of our maps.

to Garhī' There was fighting, and Jahāngī Beg was wounded and many men were slain

When the Emperor had spent three or four days in Kohlgānū (Colgong), it became advisable for him to march on and halt near Garhī He marched forward, and when he came near Garhī, Shīr Khān and Khawāṣ Khān fled by night, and he entered Garhī next day Thence he went to Gaur Bangāla, and took it

He was nine months in the far-away country of Gaur, and named it Jannatābād¹

He was comfortably and safely in Gaur, when news came that some of the amīrs had deserted and joined Mīrzā Hindāl²

Khusrau Beg³ (*kūkaltāsh*) and Zahīd Beg⁴ and Sayyīd Amīr⁵ paid their respects to the mīrzā, and said 'The Emperor has gone comfortably far away, and the mīrzās, Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, have again raised their heads,⁶ and continually keep showing themselves in company' (32b)

Just at this time the asylum of shaikhs, the servitor (*bandagī*) Shaikh Bahlūl, hid⁷ armour and horse-accoutre-

¹ City of Paradise The demoralizing effects of life in Gaur were felt under Akbar Humāyūn, with his empire crumbling around him, was now (as Jauhar testifies) 'so much devoted to pleasure and sensual enjoyment that, after the first month, he was never seen, as he was always shut up in a private apartment of the palace' Naturally, Gul badan's next item of narrative is of rebellion,—this time by her own brother, Hindāl

² He was only nineteen, and the crown may well have seemed at anyone's service The date is 1538 (945H) Humāyūn in Gaur was cut off from his capital by Shīr Khān

³ Bābar first names him in 1507/8 as coming from Harāt There are two men named Khusrau *kūkaltāsh* by Bābar, but they were not contemporaries One died in 1502/3, before the other came upon the scene

⁴ Husband of the sister of Bega Begam, Humāyūn's wife He was put to death by Mīrzā Kāmrān at Ghaznī in 1547

⁵ Sayyīd Nūru d dīn Mīrzā, the father of Salima Sultān Begam, and the husband of a daughter of Bābar Cf App s n Gul rang

⁶ Hindāl had recently defeated them (Erskine, II 89 *et seq*) For causes of Hindāl's rebellion, and for Bega Begam's part in it, see Erskine's Jauhar, l c, p 13

⁷ Some words seem to be omitted, *et g*, 'was accused of' Gul badan

ments and military stores in an underground place, and would have loaded them on carts and sent them to Shīr Khān and the mīrzās¹ Mīrzā Hindāl would not believe it, so Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad was sent to inquire into the matter. He found the armour and accoutrements, and had *Bandaqī* Shaikh Bahlūl killed². The Emperor, on hearing news of it, set out for Āgrā.

He was coming by that side of the Ganges (i.e., the left bank) opposite Mungīr, when his amīrs represented 'You are a great king'. Return by the way you came, lest Shīr Khān should say "Forsaking his road of advance, he took another of retreat"³. The Emperor returned to Mungīr, and brought many of his people and his family by boat up the river as far as Hajipur-Patna.

When he went (to Bengal) he had left Qāsim (Husain Sultān Uzbeg) there. Now came news of Shīr Khān's approach. Whenever there was fighting, the royal troops won.

Just now Bābā Beg (*Jalāī*) came from Jaunpūr and Mirak Beg from Chanāda (Chunār), and Mughal Beg from Oude (33a). As these three amīrs joined the Emperor, corn became dear.

Then,—such was God's will,—they had halted without precaution, when Shīr Khān came and fell upon them. The army was defeated, and many kinsmen and followers remained in captivity. His Majesty's own blessed hand was wounded. Three days he remained in Chunār, and then came to Arrā⁴.

cannot have believed the accusation. Perhaps, however, her long friendship with Nūru-d-dīn's daughter Salīma would make her pen discreet in blaming his murder of the shaikh.

¹ The rebels mentioned on p. 29b.

² For the probable facts, cf. B & H, II 162 *et seq.*

³ It was Mu'yīd Beg *Duladai Barlās* who urged this foolish point of honour, and who thus led to the disaster at Chausa. He was a cruel man as well as one ignorant in military matters. He was a favourite of Humāyūn, but the Emperor's followers rejoiced when he died.

⁴ Gulbadan's brevity (natural enough even if she were more historic in method) is somewhat misleading. Mr. Erskine allows one to follow

When his Majesty reached the river's bank, he stopped, bewildered as to the crossing, and said 'How to cross without boats?' Then came the rāja (Birbahān) with five or six horsemen and led him through a ford. For four or five days his people were without food or drink. At last the rāja started a bāzār, so that the people of the army lived some days in comfort and repose. The horses also were rested. Many men who were on foot bought fresh mounts. In short, the rāja rendered fitting and dutiful services. Later on his Majesty gave him leave to go, and at the hour of mid-day prayer came himself, safely and comfortably, to the bank of the Jamna. The army crossed at a ford they had found. A few days later they came to Karra, where corn and grass were plentiful, because it was his Majesty's own country (33b).

When his people were rested, he went on to Kalpi, and then marched on to Āgra.

Before his arrival in Āgra, he heard news that Shīr Khān was coming (from) the direction of Chausa. Great anxiety fell upon his people.

Of many who were in that rout (at Chausa) there was never heard, in any way soever, news or sign. Amongst them were 'Āyisha Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Husain Mirzā¹ (Bāyqra), and Bachaka, who was a *thalīfa* of my royal father,² and Bega-jun *kūka*, and 'Aqqa Begam,³ and Chānd Bibī, who was seven months with

the misadventures which culminated in the defeat. This—the rout at Chausa—occurred near to where the Sūn falls into the Ganges and at Chūpat Ghat, on June 27th, 1539 (Safar 9th, 946H). The statement of Humāyūn's visit to Chunar, I do not find elsewhere. Chunar was then held by royalists. The Arniel named is presumably that near Alidibid.

¹ Wife of Qasim Husain Sultān Uzbek, whose timely arrival gave Bābar so much satisfaction (13a). Qasim had been Governor of Patna (32b), but from the circumstance of his wife's being at Chausa, it could seem to have left it with Humāyūn.

² A Bachaka, who was a *thalīfa* of Bābar, shot chollu escaped with him from Samargand in 1501 (907H), so not thirty or 40 years before the Chausa episode. *Khalīfa*, as applied to a woman denotes a servant or slave who exercises surveillance over other women, especially in charge of rooms—an upper maid-servant.

³ Bega Begam's daughter, who will have been a child 10 years old

child, and Shad Bibi all three¹ (*su*) of whom were of his Majesty's *haram*. Of these several people, he never heard even a word as to whether they were drowned or what became of them. In spite of all possible inquiry and search what had become of them was never found out.

His own illness dragged on for forty days and he then grew better.

At this time, when Khusrav Beg (*Dā'ul-tash*), and Davana Beg, and Zahid Beg and Sayyid Amir, had come on in advance of his Majesty, news again arrived that the mirzās Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons had come to Kanauj (*ka*).

After Shad Bibi's murder, Mirza Hindāl went to Dilli. He took with him Mir Faqr-ah and other well-wishers to frustrate and disperse the mirzās. The mirzās fled, and came into the Kanauj quarter. Mir Faqr-ah brought Mirza Yadgar-nāsir to Dilli. As there was neither friendliness nor confidence between Mirza Hindāl and Mirza Yadgar-nāsir, Mirza Hindāl, when Mir Faqr-ah made this mistake, sat down out of sheer annoyance and besieged Dilli.²

When Mirza Kamran heard these things, there arose in him also a desire of sovereignty. With 12,000 fully equipped horsemen he went to Dilli. Mir Faqr-ah and Mirza Yadgar-nāsir closed the city gates on his approach. Two or three days later, Mir Faqr-ah, having made an agreement, went and saw Mirza Kamran. He represented 'The news heard of his Majesty and Shur Khan may be so and so'. Mirza Yadgar-nāsir, from thought of his own interest, does not wait on you. The advisable course at this crisis is, that you should lay hands on Mirza Hindāl,

¹ Perhaps the copyist has omitted a name, perhaps, as a child of Humāyūn, Aqqa is 'of the *Iaram*'.

² From his wound or from distress of mind. The 'forty days' suggest the ceremonial term of mourning.

³ The whole of the above paragraph it would be safest to hide with Hindāl under his sister's charitable cloak. For a historical account of the time see B & H, II, Book IV, Chap. IV.

⁴ Clearly the ill news of the rout at Chausa.

go to Āgia, and not think of establishing yourself in Dihlī' (34b)

Mirzā Kāmran gave heed to Mir Faqr-'ali's words, and bestowed on him a head-to-foot dress. He then seized Mirzā Hindāl and came to Āgia. He visited the tomb of *Ḥudaus-makānī*,¹ saw his mother and sisters, and halted in the Rose-scattering² Garden.

At this time Nūr Beg brought word of his Majesty's coming.³ As Mirzā Hindāl was excluded from the presence because of the murder of Shaikh Bahlūl, he went to Alwal.⁴

A few days after his Majesty's arrival, Mirzā Kāmran came from the Rose-scattering Garden and paid his respects to him. We paid our respects on the evening of the day he came. He took notice of this insignificant one, and was kindly pleased to say 'I did not know you at first, because when I led the army (whose footprints are victorious⁵) to Gaur Bangūla, you wore the high cap (*tāq*), and now when I saw the muslim coil⁶ I did not recognise you. And oh, my Gul-badan, I used very often to think of you, and was sometimes sorry, and said "I do wish I had brought her!" But at the time of the disaster (*fiṭrāt*) I was thankful I had not, and I said (35a) "Thank God I did not bring Gul-badan!" For although 'Aqīqā' was young, I have been

¹ Bābar's remains then had not been conveyed to Kābul in 1539

² (?) Gold scattering. Mr Erskine calls it so, and it is likely to be that already mentioned by Gul badan more than once

³ Retreating from Chausa

⁴ His own *jāgīr*

⁵ *zafar āgar*. This, after Chausa, can only be a precative of Gul badan's

⁶ This change appears to indicate that Gul badan, who is about eighteen or nineteen years old, has been married. The Persian has *lachaḡ qasāba*, without conjunction. Steingass and Johnson describe the *lachaḡ* as a square mantle worn by women, doubled into a triangle, but here the description given in the *Burhān i-qāfi* is more apropos, i.e., a square of stuff folded cornerwise and put upon the head so that the corners tie under the chin. It is often (*l.c.*) elaborately embroidered in gold. *Qasāba* appears to have the same meaning as *lachaḡ*

⁷ Cf p 33b

consumed by a hundred thousand regrets and cares, and have said "Why did I take her with the army?"

A few days later he came to see my mother. He had with him the Holy Book. He commanded the attendants to retire¹ for awhile, and they rose and there was privacy. Then he said to *ājam* (Dil-dār Begam) and this insignificant one, and to Afghānī *āqhācha*, and Gul nārī *āqhācha*, and Nār-gul *āqhācha*, and my nurse (*anaga*) 'Hindāl is my strength² and my spear,³ the desirable light of my eyes, the might of my arm, the desired, the beloved. May what I do be right! What shall I say to Mīrzā Muhammad Hindāl about the affair of my⁴ Shaikh Bahlūl? What was to be has been! Now there is no anger in my heart against Hindāl. If you do not believe it' He had lifted up the Holy Book when her Highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, and this poor thing snatched it from his hand. All cried, 'May what you do be right! Why do you say such things?'

Then again he spoke 'How would it be, Gul-badan, if you went yourself and fetched your brother, Muhammad Hindāl Mīrzā?' (35b) Her Highness, my mother, said 'This girlie (*dukhatarak*) is young. She has never made a journey (alone). If you approved, I would go.' His Majesty said 'If I give you this trouble, it is because it is clearly incumbent on fathers and mothers to feel for their children. If you would honour him with a visit, it would be a healing-balm applied for us all.'

Then he sent Mīr Abū'l-baqā⁵ with her Highness my mother, to fetch Mīrzā Hindāl. At once on hearing this

¹ *kināra kardand* This metaphor recalls the arrangement of carpets in Persian rooms, with the carpet proper in the centre, an upper end (*sar andāz*) and borders (*kināra*) 'Go aside' might be a good rendering.

² *qūl*, Mongolian,—main body of an army

³ Ar *ganāt*

⁴ Here and in the apostrophe to Gul badan I have allowed the *man* to indicate the affection Humāyūn had for his half sister and for the revered shaikh. It might be, however (as at 'Now there is no anger,' cf. text), the simple first person.

⁵ B & H, II, 8 n

news 'She has come to see me' Muhammad Hindāl Mīzā made his mother happy by giving her honourable meeting. He came with her from Alwar, and paid his duty to his Majesty¹. About Shaikh Bahlūl he said 'He used to send arms and military appurtenances to Shīr Khān. When this was ascertained, I killed the shaikh on account of it.'

To put it briefly in a short time came news that Shīr Khān had come near Lakhnau.

In those days his Majesty had a certain servant, a water-carrier (36a). As he had been parted from his horse in the river at Chausa and this servant betook himself to his help and got him safe and sound out of the current, his Majesty now seated him on the throne. The name of that menial person we did not hear, some said Nizām, some said Sambal. But to cut the story short, his Majesty made the water-carrier servant sit on the throne, and ordered all the amīns to make obeisance to him. The servant gave everyone what he wished, and made appointments. For as much as two days the Emperor gave royal power to that menial. Mīrzā Hindāl was not present at his court,² he had taken leave, and had again gone to Alwar with the intention of getting arms ready. Neither did Mīrzā Kāmran appear. He was ill, and sent to say to his Majesty 'Gifts and favours of some other kind ought to be the servant's reward. What propriety is there in setting him on the throne? At a time when Shīr Khān is near, what kind of affair is this to engage your Majesty?'

In those days Mīrzā Kāmran's illness increased amazingly. He became weak and so thin that his face was not in the least his own, and there was no hope of his life (36b).

¹ Hindāl was received in the presence of Kāmran and other kinsmen. Humāyūn said to Kāmran 'You know who is to blame! Why did Hindāl rebel?' Kāmran passed on the question to Hindāl himself, who, with profound shame, pleaded that being young he had listened to bad advice, and begged forgiveness. (Erskine's notes on Stewart's Jauhar, B. M. Add 26,608.)

² Lat, in that assembly.

By the Divine mercy he grew better. He suspected that the Emperor's mothers,¹ by his Majesty's advice, had given him poison. His Majesty came to hear of this, and instantly went to see the mīrzā and swore that he had never had such a thought, nor given such an order to any one. Nevertheless, Mīrzā Kāmran's heart was not purged. Afterwards he got worse, day after day, and he lost power of speech.

When news came that Shī Khān had left Lakhnau, the Emperor marched towards Kanauj, and left Mīrzā Kāmran in Āgra to act for him. In a few days the mīrzā heard that he had made a bridge of boats and crossed the Ganges. On this, he himself marched out of Āgra towards Lāhōr.²

We had settled down³ when he sent⁴ a *farmān* like a king's, and said 'You⁵ are commanded to go with me to Lāhōr.' He must have said⁶ to his Majesty about me something of this sort: 'I am very ill and very miserable and lonely, and I have no one⁷ to sympathize with me (37a). If you will order Gul-badan Begam to go with me to Lāhōr, it will be a real favour and kindness.' For his sake his Majesty will have said 'She shall go.' Two or three days after the Emperor had gone towards Lakhnau, the mīrzā sent a *farmān*,⁸ in royal style, to the effect 'Most assuredly you will come with me.' Then my mother must have said 'She has never travelled apart from us.' He replied⁹ 'If she has not travelled alone, do you also go with her.' He sent as many as 500 troopers and trusty grooms, and both his foster-father and his foster-brother, and said (to my mother) 'If she may not go with me (to

¹ i.e., Bībar's widows

² A treacherous defection

³ The royal family, after the Emperor's and the mīrzā's departure

⁴ Perhaps from his first halting place outside the city

⁵ Clearly Gul-badan

⁶ Before either brother left Āgra.

⁷ i.e., of his kinsfolk, and especially of his women kinsfolk

⁸ This, I think, is the one already named.

⁹ *īshān farmudand*. This seems to mean Humāyūn, and to refer the following speech back to the earliest discussion of the project of Gul-badan's journey at the time Humāyūn was still in Āgra. The whole episode is confused in narrative.

Lāhōr), come all of you one stage ' When one stage was reached, he began to declare, on his oath 'I will not let you go ' Then he took me by main force, with a hundred weepings and complaints and laments, away from my mothers, and my own mother and my sisters, and my father's people, and my brothers, and parted us who had all grown up together from infancy ¹

I saw that the Emperor's command also was in the affair I was helpless (37b) I wrote a suppliant letter, saying 'I never expected your Majesty to cut off this insignificant one from your service, and to give her to Mīrzā Kāmran ' To this humble note he sent a compassionate answer (*salām-nāma*), to this effect 'I had no heart to part with you, but the mīrzā persisted, and was miserable, and begged very hard, and I was obliged to trust you to him For just now there is important work² on hand God willing, I will send for you when it is settled '

When the mīrzā was starting, many people, amīrs and traders and so on, made preparation with the intention of letting their wives and families march under his escort to Lāhōr When we reached (the city) news came of a battle on the Ganges, and that defeat had befallen the royal army ³

At least there was this limit to misfortune,—his Majesty and his brothers came safely through the peril ⁴ Our other relations⁵ came from Āgra by way of Alwar to Lāhōr (38a)

¹ It must be remembered that Gul badan's husband, Khizr Khwāja, was a brother of Āq Sultan (Yasīn daulat), Kāmran's son in law, and Kāmran may have had other motives than affection for desiring her presence, e g, the attraction of her husband's contingent

² The opposition of Shīr Khān, soon to be closed at Kanauj Gul badan's enforced departure with Kāmran saved her a painful and hazardous flight

³ May 17th, 1540 (Muharram 10th, 947H) Mīrzā Hādar gives an admirable account of it as 'the battle of the Ganges ' Gul badan's full brother, Hindāl, led the van at Kanauj, and defeated Shīr Khān's son, Jalāl Hindāl was a successful general 'Askarī, Kāmran's full brother, was defeated by Khawās Khān.

⁴ As at Chausa, so at Kanauj, Humāyūn was nearly drowned Here he was saved by Shamsu d dīn Muhammad of Ghaznī, whose wife, under the sobriquet of Jī jī *anaga*, became a nurse of Akbar

⁵ They were convoyed by Hindāl See *infra*

Just now the Emperor said to Mīrzā Hindāl ‘‘Aqīqa Begam disappeared in that first interregnum (*fitrat*¹), and I repented extremely, and said ‘‘Why did I not kill her in my own presence?’’ Now, again, it is difficult to convey women with us’ Mīrzā Hindāl answered ‘What it would be to your Majesty to kill a mother and a sister, speaks for itself’ So long as there is life in me, I will fight in their service I have hope in the most high God, that,—poor fellow as I am,—I may pour out my life’s blood for my mother and my sisters’

Then the Emperor set out for Fathpūr (Sikrī) with Mīrzā ‘Askarī and Ludgār nasir Mirza and the amīrs who had come safely off the battlefield²

Mīrzā Hindāl sent on before him³ her Highness his mother, who was Dil-dar Begam, and his own sister, Gul-chihra Begam, and Afghani *āghācha*, and Gul nār *āghācha*, and Nīr-gul *āghācha*, and the amīrs wives and families, etc He was marching along when the Gawārs pursued him in great numbers (38b) Some of his troopers charged and defeated them An arrow struck his horse⁴ There was much fighting and confusion Having saved the helpless women from the bond of the Gawārs, he sent on (to Lāhōr) his mother and sister, and many of the amīrs’ people, etc, and went to Alwar Here he got together tents and pavilions and numerous requisites, and then started for Lāhōr He arrived in a few days,

¹ i.e., battle of Chausa *Fitna* would read more easily here Perhaps behind *fitrat* is the notion of relaxation in effort, or of an interval between two periods of good fortune

² Amongst them was Haidar Mīrzā, who describes the fugitives as ‘broken and dispirited, and in a state heartrending to tell Sikrī must have rubbed salt into their wounds, since it recalls Bābar’s triumph Their halting place there was his garden, a token of his genius for living

³ The known enemy, Shīr Khān, was in the rear With Hindāl’s marriage feast fresh in mind, one may give a thought to Sultānam She was probably of this party, since her husband’s contingent was with Humāyūn, and he was not on his *jāgīr* of Alwar

⁴ *Asp* i. *mubārīk*, (?) the horse which had the happiness to bear him Perhaps *asp* is a mistake for some word to which ‘blessed’ would be a more fit adjective

and brought what was wanted for the princes and the amīrs

His Majesty alighted in Khwāja Ghāzī's garden near Bibi Hāj-tāj.¹ Every day there was news of Shīr Khān, and during the three months that the Emperor was in Lāhōr word was brought day after day 'Shīr Khān has advanced four miles,' 'six miles,' till he was near Sirhind.

One of the amīrs was named Muzaffar Beg. He was a Tūrkman. The Emperor sent him with Qāzī 'Abdu-l-lāh to Shīr Khān to say 'What justice is there in this? I have left you the whole of Hindūstān. Leave Lāhōr alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me' (39a). But that unjust man, fearless of God, did not consent, and answered 'I have left you Kābul. You should go there.'

Muzaffar Beg marched at once, and sent on an express to say 'A move must be made.' As soon as this message came, his Majesty set off. It was like the Day of Resurrection. People left their decorated places and furniture just as they were, but took with them whatever money they had. There was thankfulness to God, because mercifully a ford was found across the Lāhōr water (Rāwī) where everyone crossed. His Majesty halted a few days on the river's bank. Then an ambassador came from Shīr Khān. The Emperor had decided to see him next morning, when Mūzā Kāmran made a petition, saying 'To-morrow there

¹ Abū'l-faḥr says that Hindāl's quarters were in Khwāja Ghāzī's garden, and Humāyūn's in Khwāja Dost *munshī's*.

Bibi Hāj, Bibi Tāj, Bibi Nūr, Bibi Hūr, Bibi Gūhar, and Bibi Shābaz are said to have been daughters of 'Aqīl, brother of 'Alī (Muhammad's son in law). They were famous for piety and asceticism. After the murder of Imām Husain at Kerbela, these ladies left Syria for India in obedience to a secret intimation. They alighted outside Lāhōr at the place named by Gul badān and where their shrine now is. They converted many of the townspeople to their faith, and thus angered the, presumably Hindū, governor. He sent his son to command their departure, but the son fell under their influence, and remained near them. This still more angered his father, who went out against them and their followers with an armed force. The ladies prayed that their honour might be preserved, and they not be seen by strange men. Immediately the earth opened and swallowed them (*Khazīna'u l aṣfiyā*, II 407).

will be an entertainment, and Shīr Khān's envoy will be present. If I may sit on a corner of your Majesty's carpet, so that there may be distinction between me and my brothers, it will be a cause of my exaltation.¹

Hamida bīnū Begam says it was his Majesty who wrote and sent the following verse to the mīrā². I had heard that he sent it to Shīr Khān by the envoy. This is the verse

'Although one's image be shown in the mirror,
It remains always apart from one's self (301)
'It is wonderful to see one's self in another form
This marvel will be the work of God

When Shīr Khān's ambassador arrived he paid his respects

The Emperor's blessed heart was cast down. He fell asleep in a sad mood, and saw in a dream a venerable man, dressed in green from head to foot and carrying a staff, who said 'Be of good cheer, do not grieve,' and gave his staff into the royal hand. 'The most high God will give you a son who shall be named Jalālu d-dīn Muhammad Akbar.' The Emperor asked 'What is your honourable name?' He answered 'The Terrible Elephant,' Ahmad of Jām,' and added 'Your son will be of my lineage.'⁴

¹ For an account of Kāmīn's odious and fruitless treachery see B & H, II 200 *et seq*. The meaning of his message to Humāyūn is not clear to me. Perhaps he wished to show the envoy that he was not on the level of Hindū and Askari, but able to claim recognition as a ruler and as Humāyūn's equal. Perhaps it was a hint to Humāyūn that he must recognise Kāmīn's equality in the lands in which the latter had been supreme while he himself ruled in Dihli.

At this time Humāyūn was strongly advised to put Kāmīn to death. He refused, but later on and after a dreary waste of good nature, his filial piety had to yield to the common sense of his victimized followers and allow the blinding.

² At the time when the verse was written Hamida was not married. The discussion in 1587 (*circa*) of a 'point' between the ladies is a living touch to the old MS. Which was likely to be right,—Hamida who might later have heard the story from her husband, or Gul badan who was in Lihōr? Gul badan puts the difference of opinion gently but does not surrender, and leaves her readers to draw their own inferences.

³ *Zinda-fīl*

⁴ Humāyūn was of the lineage of Ahmad of Jām through his mother Māham (A. N., *Bib Ind*, ed I 121). To give force to the prophecy,

In those days Bibī Gūnwar¹ was with child. Everyone said 'A son will be born'. In that same garden of Dost *munshī* and in the month of Jumāda'u-l-awwal, a daughter was born whom they named Bakhshī-bānū.

At this time his Majesty appointed Mīrzā Haidar to take Kashmīr. Meantime, news was brought that Shīr Khān was there. A wonderful confusion followed, and the Emperor decided to march off next morning (40a).

While the brothers were in Lāhōr, they conferred and took counsel and asked advice, but they did not settle on any single thing. At last the news was 'Shīr Khān is here'. Then, as there was no help for it, they marched off at the first watch of the day (9 a.m.).

The Emperor's wish was to go to Kashmīr, where he had sent Mīrzā Haidar *Kashgharī*, but news of the mīrzā's success had not yet come, and people counselled 'If your Majesty were to go to Kashmīr, and the country was not conquered at once, it would—with Shīr Khān in Lāhōr—be a very difficult time'.

Khwāja Kilān Beg² was in Siālkōt, and disposed to serve his Majesty. With him was Mū'yid Beg, who wrote 'The khwāja greatly wishes to serve you and would come, but he has Mīrzā Kāmran to consider. If your Majesty would come quickly, his help would be made easy in an excellent way'. The Emperor at once took arms and equipment, and set out to go to the khwāja, and joined company with him and brought him along.³

however, the coming child's mother had to be of the same descent, since Humāyūn's claim to rank as of the saint's lineage required no prophetic announcement. Indeed this story seems to cast doubt on that claim. Akbar's mother, Hamida, was of the line of Ahmad of Jām. So, too, was Bega (Hājī) Begam. Another of the same family was Bābū or Bānū *āghā*, wife of Shihābū d dīn Ahmad of Nishāpūr.

¹ To give value to Ahmad's prophecy, Bibī Gūnwar ought also to have traced back to him. She does not seem to have been a woman of rank. The girl now born was at least the third child of Humāyūn, there having been Al amān and 'Aqīqa, children of Bega Begam and now both dead.

² The well known old servant of Bābar and now one of Kāmran's chief amīrs.

³ The begam's story here does not agree with that of Mr Erskine's authorities. Mū'yid Beg is the ill adviser of the march from Bengal to Chausa.

The Emperor was pleased to say 'With my brothers' concurrence, I shall go to Badakhshān (40b) Let Kābul remain the fief of Mīrzā Kāmiān' But Mīrzā Kāmrān would not consent to (his Majesty's) going to Kābul,¹ and said 'In his lifetime the Emperor *Ṭandaus-mahānī* gave Kābul to my mother (Gulrukh Begam) It is not right (for you) to go to Kābul'

Then said his Majesty 'As for Kābul, his Majesty *Ṭandaus-mahānī* often used to say, "My Kābul I will give to no one, far from it! Let none of my sons covet it. There God gave me all my children, and many victories followed its capture" Moreover, this expression of opinion is recorded many times in his *Hāqī'a nāma* What was the good of my showing kindness to the mīrzā from civility and brotherliness, if he now keep on talking in this way!'

Let his Majesty talk as he would, pacifying and conciliating, the mīrzā resisted more and more When he saw that there was a large following with Mīrzā Kāmrān, and that the mīrzā was in no way willing for him to go to Kābul, he had no resource but to move towards Bhakkar and Multān Having arrived in Multān, he halted one day (41a) A small quantity of corn was obtained in the fort and having divided that little amongst his men, he marched on till he came to the bank of a river which was seven rivers in one² He stood distracted There were no boats, and he had a large camp with him Then there came word that Khawās Khān,³ with several amīrs, was coming up behind

There was a Balūchī named Bakhshū (*sic*) who had forts

¹ Kāmrān may well have feared that Humāyūn would get no further than Kābul on his way to Badakhshān

² *i.e.*, the Indus The begam's 'seven' is interesting Cf 'Sketch of the Hindūstānī Language, C J Lyall, p 1 n ' *Hindō* represents an earlier *Hindau*, being the modern Persian for the ancient Hendava, *i.e.*, a dweller in the country of the *sapta hindū* (Sk *sapta sindhu*), or 'seven rivers,' now called, with the omission of two (probably the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī or Ghaggar) the Panj-āb'

³ A follower of Shīr Khān

and many men His Majesty sent him a banner and kettledrums, and a horse, and a head-to-foot suit, and asked for boats and also for corn After a time Bakhshū *Balūchī* got together and sent about a hundred boats, full of corn too, for the royal service,—a proper attention which pleased the Emperor very much He divided the corn amongst his people, and crossed the water¹ safe and sound May mercy be shown to Bakhshū for his dutiful service!

After a weary journey, they reached Bhakkar at last The fort is in the middle of the river and very strong The governor, Sultān Mahmūd (*Bhakkarī*),² had fortified himself in it (41b) The Emperor alighted safe and well over against the fort, near which was a garden³ made by Mīrzā Shāh Husain *Samandar*⁴

At length his Majesty sent Mīr Samandar to Shāh Husain Mīrzā with this message 'We have come into your territory under compulsion May your country be blessed to you! We shall not take possession of it Would to Heaven you would yourself come and pay us your respects, and do us the service which is our due' We intend to go to Gujāt, and should leave you your own country' By tricks and wiles, Shāh Husain kept his Majesty as much as five months in Samandar, then he sent a person to wait on him, and to say 'I am arranging my daughter's wedding-feast, and I send (someone) to wait on you I shall come (later)' His Majesty believed him, and waited still three months Sometimes there was corn to be had, sometimes not—The soldiers killed and ate their horses and camels Then his Majesty sent again, by

¹ The Gūla, near Uch

² Foster brother of Shāh Husain *Arghūn*, and the man for whom Sīdī 'Alī Reis negotiated terms with Humāyūn in 1555

³ A delightful garden, the Chār bāgh of Rūhrī (Lūhrī), on the left bank of the Indus. Shāh Husain felt no anxiety as to military operations after hearing that Humāyūn had camped here Chār bāgh seems to denote a royal and private garden.

⁴ 'A place in Hindūstān from which aloes are brought' (Steingass, s v) Cf *Samandūrī*, aloe wood, of the *Āin* (Blochmann 80) Samandar seems an equivalent for Sind

Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ghafūr,¹ to ask 'How much longer will you be? What prevents you from coming? (42a) Things have come to such a pass that there is inconvenience, and many of my men are deserting' The reply was 'My daughter² is promised to Mirzā Kāmrān, and a meeting with me is impossible I could not wait on you'

As at this time Mirzā Muhammad Hindāl crossed the river, some said he might be going to Qandahār³ On hearing this his Majesty sent several people after him to make inquiry and to say 'It is reported that you plan going to Qandahār' When questioned, the mirzā said 'People have given a wrong impression' On this the Emperor came⁴ to see her Highness my mother

The mirzā's *haram* and all his people paid their respects to his Majesty at this meeting Concerning Hamīda-bānū Begam, his Majesty asked 'Who is this?' They said 'The daughter of Mir Bābā Dost' Khwāja Mu'azzam⁵ was standing opposite his Majesty, who said 'This boy will be one of my kinsmen (too?)'⁶ Of Hamīda-bānū he said 'She, too, is related to me' (42b)

In those days Hamīda-bānū Begam was often in the mirzā's residence (*mahall*) Another day when his Majesty came to see her Highness my mother, he remarked 'Mir

¹ Humāyūn's treasurer (*mīr-i-māl*) whose official functions must now have been of the least pressing

² The admirable Māh chūchak who insisted upon accompanying the blinded Kāmrān to Makka As her peer in compassion may be commemorated Chulma Beg *kūla* (B & H., II, 418.)

³ He encamped at Pāt (text, Patr), about twenty miles west of the Indus and about forty miles north of Sehwan Pāt is in the *sarkār* of Sīwistān, a little to the east of the highroad to Hyderābād, and not far north of Meīnī, the scene of Napier's victory of 1843 I am indebted to Major General Malcolm R Haig for the information that Pāt is 'now a ruin, having been destroyed in the latter part of the eighteenth century when two Kalhora chiefs of Sind called in the Afghāns to quell domestic troubles'

⁴ Leaving his troops to prosecute the siege of Bhakkar, and passing through Dārīlā where was his cousin, Yādgar nāsir From the wording it might be supposed that Gul badān was with her mother in Pāt, but I believe she was in Kībul at this time.

⁵ Cf Appendix, s n Hamīda bānū

⁶ (?) interrogative, but the preceding verb is *guftand*, and not *pursī dand*

Bābā Dost is related to us 'It is fitting that you should give me his daughter in marriage' Mīrzā Hindāl kept on making objections, and said 'I look on this girl as a sister and child of my own Your Majesty is a king Heaven forbid there should not be a proper alimony, and that so a cause of annoyance should arise'¹

His Majesty got angry, and rose and went away Then my mother wrote and sent a letter, saying 'The girl's mother has even before this been using persuasion'² It is astonishing that you should go away in anger over a few words' He wrote in reply 'Your story is very welcome to me Whatever persuasion you may use, by my head and eyes, I will agree to it As for what they have written about alimony, please Heaven, what they ask will be done My waiting eye is on the road' My mother fetched his Majesty, and on that day she gave a party When it was over, he went to his own quarters (43a) On another day he came to my mother, and said 'Send someone to call Hamīdā-bānū Begam here' When she sent, the begam did not come, but said 'If it is to pay my respects, I was exalted by paying my respects the other day Why should I come again?' Another time his Majesty sent Subhān Qulī, and said 'Go to Mīrzā Hindāl, and tell him to send the begam' The mīrzā said 'Whatever I may say, she

¹ This looks like a side glance at the wasted fortunes of royalty No kingdom! No revenues! Whence then the dowry? It is clear from the sequel that the important point was being pressed

Jauhar says that Hamīdā had been already asked in marriage, but not betrothed or perhaps promised Her objections to marry Humāyūn seem personal, and may indicate preference for another and dislike for him She is said to have been fourteen years old and Humāyūn was thirty three, an opium eater, and much married already Her objections, whatever their true basis, must have been strong or they could hardly have survived, for Gul badan to record, through the many years of prosperity and proud motherhood which her husband's renewed sovereignty in India and her son's distinction secured to her

Behind Gul badan's story of the wooing of Hamīdā there were doubtless many talks over 'old times' when the royal authoress was freshening her memory for her literary task, begun (it seems probable) when she was about sixty five and Hamīdā some few years younger

² *Mūdar ʾ dukhtar az īn ham peshtar nāz mīkanad* Perhaps, 'caressed the idea'

will not go Go yourself and tell her' When Subhān Qulī went and spoke, the begam replied 'To see kings once is lawful, a second time it is forbidden I shall not come' On this Subhān Qulī went and represented what she had said His Majesty remarked 'If she is not a consort (*nā mahram*), we will make her a consort (*mahram*)'

To cut the story short For forty days the begam resisted and discussed and disagreed At last her highness my mother, Dīl dīr Begam, advised her, saying 'After all you will marry someone Better than a king, who is there?' The begam said 'Oh yes, I shall marry some one, but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach' Then my mother again gave her much advice (43b)

At last, after forty days (discussion), at mid-day on Monday (fault) Jumidu l-awwal (*sic*) 918II (September, 1541), and in Pātī (*sic*), his Majesty took the astrolabe into his own blessed hand and, having chosen a propitious hour, summoned Mīr Abū'l-baqā and ordered him to make fast the marriage bond He gave the mīr two laks of ready money for the dower¹ (*mukāhāna*), and having stayed three days after the wedding in Pātr, he set out and went by boat to Bhakkar

He spent a month at Bhakkar and he sent Mīr Abū'l-baqā to Sultān *Bhakkarī* The mīr fell ill while away, and went to the mercy of God²

His Majesty then gave Mīrzā Hindāl leave to go to Qandahūr, and he dismissed Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsir to his own place, Lār He himself went towards Seūwān³ (Sehwān),

¹ Perhaps the ladies romance a little here Humāyūn was certainly at a loss for money now and later

² This is not a historic account of the death He was sent to Yādgār nāsir and was shot while crossing the river on his return to Rūhrī by adherents of Shāh Husain His death caused great grief to Humāyūn (B & H, II, 222.)

³ At the end of September, 1541 Hindāl's leave is a sisterly gloss on his acceptance of an invitation to Qandahūr given by its governor, Qarūcha Khān

which is six or seven days' journey from Tatta.¹ Sehwan has a strong fort, in which was Mīr 'Alīka, a servant of his Majesty the Emperor.² There were several cannon, so no one could possibly go near. Some of the royal soldiers made trenches, and got near and gave him ('Alīka) advice, and said (44a) 'Disloyalty is not well at such a time,' but Mīr 'Alīka did not agree with them. Then they made a mine and cast down a tower, but they could not take the fort. Coin became dear and many men deserted. The Emperor spent six or seven months there.

Mīrzā Shāh Husain treacherously laid hands on the royal soldiers in all directions, and made them over to his people, and said 'Take them and throw them into the salt sea.' Three or four hundred would be gathered into one place and flung into boats and thrown into the sea, till as many as 10,000 were cast forth.

'As after this there were few men even with the Emperor, (? Shāh Husain) filled several boats with cannon and muskets, and came from Tatta against him. Sehwan is near the river. (? Mīr 'Alīka) hindered the coming of the royal boats and provisions, and sent to say '(?) I am maintaining my loyalty. March off quickly.' Having no remedy, the Emperor turned to Bhakkar.

When he came near and before he could reach it, Mīr (Shāh) Husain Samandar had sent word to Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsir (44b) 'If the Emperor, when he is retreating, should

¹ Semblance of relevance can be given to this statement only by reference to other writers. Humāyūn had intended to go to Tatta at this time, and was diverted from the journey by a slight success of arms. He then besieged Sehwan.

² Certainly not so, for 'Alīka was an Arghūn and follower of Shāh Husain. Perhaps Gul badan wrote or intended to convey that 'Alīka had served Bābar as once all the Arghūns had done. Perhaps she has confused the import of the story that Mīr 'Alīka when sent by Shāh Husain to take command of Sehwan, actually passed through Humāyūn's lines and the bāzār without recognition as an enemy.

³ Text, thirty—*sīṣad*. No wonder Humāyūn's force vanished! He is said to have left Hindūstān, i.e., Lāhor, with a following of 200,000. This presumably included Kāmran's party, and was made up of soldiers and women, children, traders, servants, etc. At this time Humāyūn had lost both Hindūl's and Yādgār nāsir's troops.

⁴ The narrative becomes much confused here.

come near Bhakkar,¹ do not let him in. Bhakkar may remain your holding. I am with you, I will give you my own daughter.' The *mīrzā* believed him and did not allow the Emperor to enter the fort, but wished to make him go on, either by force or fraud.

His Majesty sent a messenger to say 'Bābā,² you are as a son to me. I left you in my stead, so that you might help me in case of need. What you are doing is done by the evil counsel of your servants. Those faithless servants will be faithless to you also.' Whatever his Majesty urged had no effect.³ Then he said 'Very well! I shall go to Rāja Māldeo.⁴ I have bestowed this country on you, but Shāh Husam will not let you keep it. You will remember my words.' Having said this to the *mīrzā*, the Emperor marched away by way of Jisalmīr, towards Māldeo. He reached Fort Dilāwāl (Dirāwal), on the rāja's frontier, a few days later (45a). He stayed there two days. Neither corn nor grass was to be had. He then went to Jisalmīr, and on his approach the rāja sent out troops to occupy the road, and there was fighting. The Emperor and some others went aside off the road. Several men were wounded. Alūsh⁵ Beg, brother of Shāham Jalā'ir and Pir Muhammad the equerry, and Raushang the wardrobe-keeper, and some others.⁶ At length the royal troops won and the infidels fled into the fort. That day the Emperor travelled 60 *kos* (c. 120 miles), and then halted on the bank of a reservoir.

Next he came into Sitalmīn, where he was harassed all day till he reached Pahlūdī, a *paigana* of Māldeo. The

¹ The *mīrzā* was at Rūhrī and had not possession of the fort. Cf B & H, II, 226, for a good account of his treachery and credulity.

² (?) 'My dear boy'—the Persian word of endearment. The relative position and ages of Humāyūn and Yādgar nāṣir make 'father' in appropriate.

³ In this extremity Humāyūn turned his thoughts towards Makka.

⁴ Rāja of Jūdpūr (Mārwar), who had proffered help.

⁵ Var, Lūsh and Tarsh,—all three names of such disagreeable import as to suggest that they are either nicknames or were bestowed to ward off evil influences. Perhaps *ālūs* should be read. Cf App s n.

⁶ Muqīm Harāwī, father of Nizām al dīn Ahmad, took part in this engagement.

rāja was in Jodhpūr, and sent armour and a camel's-load of *ashrafīs*, and greatly comforted his Majesty by saying 'You are welcome' I give you Bikanir' The Emperor halted with an easy mind, and despatched *Atla Khān* (Shamsu-d-dīn *Ghaznaī*) to Māldeo, and said 'What will his answer be?'¹

In the downfall and desolation in Hind, Mullā Surkh, the librarian, had gone to Māldeo, and had entered his service (45b) He now wrote 'Beware, a thousand times beware of advancing March at once from wherever you are, for Māldeo intends to make you prisoner Put no trust in his words There came here an envoy from Shīr Khān who brought a letter to say "By whatever means you know and can use, capture that king If you will do this, I will give you Nagōi and Alwar and whatever place you ask for"' *Atla Khān* also said when he came 'This is no time for standing' So at afternoon prayer-time the Emperor marched off When he was mounting, they captured two spies and brought them bound before him He was questioning them when suddenly they got their hands free, and one snatched a sword from the belt of Muhammad *Gud-bāz*² and struck him with it, and then wounded Bāqī *Gualīārī* The other at once unsheathed³ a dagger and faced the bystanders, wounded several and killed the Emperor's riding-horse They did much mischief before they were killed (46a) Just then there was a cry, 'Māldeo is here' The Emperor had no horse fit for Hamīda bānū Begam He may have asked for one for her from Tardī Beg,⁴ who apparently did not give it He then said 'Let the camel of Jauhar, the ewer-bearer, be got ready for me I will ride it, and the begam may have

¹ Presumably to *Atla Khān* a message from Humāyūn

² (?) *gird bāzū*, strong limbed

³ Doubtful translation, *az mayūn yak l ashūda*

⁴ This excellent officer is frequently a scapegoat Our begam, however, imputes her blame tentatively For estimate of his character see B & H, I and II, s n Jauhar brings Raushan Beg into a similar story of this terrible journey

Several more (of the royal troop) hit others with arrows, the infidels turned to flee, and the fight was won. They brought in several prisoners alive. Then the camp went slowly, slowly on, but his Majesty was far ahead. Those who had recited the *fātiha* came up with the camp.

There was a mace-bearer named Bihbūd. They sent him galloping after the Emperor, to say 'Let your Majesty go slowly. By Heaven's grace, a victory has been vouchsafed, and the infidels have fled.' Bihbūd himself was taken to the presence, and conveyed the good news.¹

His Majesty dismounted, and a little water even (*ham*)² was found, but he was anxious about the amirs, and said 'What has happened to them?' Then horsemen appeared in the distance, and again there was a cry 'God forbid! Māldeo!'³ His Majesty sent a man for information, who came running back and said 'Īshān-tīmūr Sultān, and Mīrzā Yādgār, and Mu'nim Khān are all coming, safe and sound.' They had missed their way. Their return rejoiced the Emperor, who rendered thanks to God.

Next morning they marched on. For three days they found no water (47b). On the fourth, they came to some very deep wells, the water of which was extraordinarily red. The Emperor halted and alighted near one of the wells, Tardī Beg Khān was at another, at a third, Mīrzā Yādgār, and Mu'nim Khān, and Nadīm *kūka*, and at the fourth, Īshān-tīmūr Sultān, and Khwāja Ghāzī, and Raushan *kūka*.

As each bucket came out of the wells into reach, people flung themselves on it, the ropes broke, and five or six persons fell into the wells with the buckets. Many perished from thirst. When the Emperor saw men flinging themselves into the wells from thirst, he let anyone drink from

¹ And also, tied to his girths, two heads of foes which he flung at Humāyūn's feet.

² to brim of the cup of joy.

³ These cries remind one that even now Humāyūn must have had with him a huge contingent of helpless beings, women and children and non combatants.

his own water-bottle When everyone had drunk his fill, they marched on again at afternoon prayer-time

After a day and a night they reached a large tank The horses and camels went into the water and drank so much that many died There had not been many horses, but there were mules and camels (48a) Beyond this place water was found at every stage on the way to 'Umrkōt,¹ which is a beautiful place with many tanks

The rānā² gave the Emperor an honourable reception, and took him into the fort, and assigned him excellent quarters He gave places outside to the amīrs' people Many things were very cheap indeed, four goats could be had for one *rupī* The rānā made many gifts of kids and so on, and paid such fitting service that what tongue could set it forth?

Several days were spent in peace and comfort

The treasury was empty Tardī Beg Khān had a great deal of money, and the Emperor having asked him for a considerable loan, he lent 80,000 *ashrafīs* at the rate of two in ten³ His Majesty portioned out this money to the army He bestowed sword-belts and *cap-à-pie* dresses on the rānā and his sons Many people bought fresh horses here

Mir Shāh Husam had killed the rānā's father For this, amongst other reasons, the rānā collected 2,000 or 3,000 good soldiers and set out with the Emperor for Bhakkar⁴ (48b)

In 'Umrkōt he left many people, and his family and relations, and also Khwāja Mu'azzam to have charge of the *haram* Hamīda-bānū Begam was with child Three days after his Majesty's departure, and in the early morning of Sunday, the fourth day of the revered Rajab, 949H,⁵

¹ The little desert town must indeed have seemed a haven after the terrible journey, and not least so to the young wife who some two months later became the mother of Akbar Humāyūn reached 'Umrkōt on August 22nd, 1542 (Jumāda I 10th, 949H)

² Text, *passim*, *ra'nā* The 'Umrkōt rānā's name was Parsād

³ (?) 20 per cent Cf Mems, 138

⁴ After a stay of seven weeks in 'Umrkōt ⁵ October 15th, 1542.

there was born his imperial Majesty, the world's refuge and conqueror, Jalālu d-dīn Muhammad Akbar *Ghāzī*. The moon was in Leo. It was of very good omen that the birth was in a fixed Sign, and the astiologers said a child so born would be fortunate and long-lived. The Emperor was some thirty miles away when Taidī Muhammad Khān took the news to him. He was highly delighted, and by way of reward and largesse (*nisān*) for the tidings he forgave all soever of Taidī Muhammad Khān's past offences. He gave the child the name he had heard in his dream at Lāhōi, the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar.

On leaving this place, the Emperor went towards Bhakkar with as many as 10,000 men who had gathered round him, people of the rānā and of the outlying tribes and Sūdmas (Sodhas) and Samīchas (49a). They reached the district of Jūn, where there was one of Shāh Husain's servants with some troops. He fled¹. Here there was the Mirror Garden, a very pleasant and enjoyable place where the Emperor alighted. He assigned its villages (? of Jūn) in *jāgīr* to his followers.

It is a six days' journey from Jūn to Tatta. The Emperor was as much as six² months in Jūn, and brought his family and people and the whole 'Umrkōt party there³. The Emperor Jalālu d-dīn Muhammad Akbar was six months old when they took him to Jūn. The party which had come from various places with the royal family and the *harām* now broke up. As for the rānā, he marched off at midnight for his own country, on account of a coolness⁴ caused by some talk between him and Taidī Muhammad Khān⁵. All the Sūdmas and Samīchas went off by agree-

¹ Cf B & H, II, 256, for stories of the taking of Jūn.

² Other writers say nine.

³ Hamīda and her baby were good travellers. They left 'Umrkōt when the child was under five weeks old (November 20th), and joined Humāyūn early in December (1542).

⁴ *shukr rangī*. I do not find this word in dictionaries, and translate tentatively on the analogy of *shukr āb*, a tiff.

⁵ Other writers give Khwāja Ghāzī as the second in the quarrel.



INCIDENTS FOLLOWING THE BIRTH OF AKBAR

At the top, on the right, are Hamida bintu and the child, on the left, the news is announced with sound of castanets and tambourines

In the middle, the hour of birth is being communicated to the astrologers

At the foot the news is being given to Humayun by Tardi Beg, and is welcomed by music and dancing

ment with him, and the Emperor was left alone, as before, with his own people

He sent brave Shaikh 'Alī Beg (*Jalāir*) and Muzaffar Beg *Turkman* towards the large district of Jājkī (*Hāj-kān*) (49b) Mirzā Shāh Husain sent a force to attack him, and there was a famous fight. At last Muzaffar Beg was routed and fled, and Shaikh 'Alī Beg (*Jalāir*) was killed and perished with all his men.¹

A squabble arose between Khālid Beg² and Tarsh Beg, a brother of Shāham Khān *Jalāir* and his Majesty turned all his favour to Tarsh Beg. So Khālid Beg deserted and went with all his men to Mir Shāh Husain. Then the Emperor ordered Khālid Beg's mother, Sultānam, to prison and this made Gul-barg³ Begam angry. Then he forgave Sultānam and gave her leave to go to the blessed Makka with Gul-barg Begam. Soon after this Tarsh Beg also deserted. The Emperor cursed him, and said 'For his sake, I dealt harshly with Khālid Beg, who on this account left the circle of the faithful for the circle of the disloyal. Tarsh Beg will die young.' So it was.¹ Fifteen days later, a servant killed him with a knife as he lay sleeping in a boat. When the Emperor heard of it he grew sad and thoughtful (50a) Shāh Husain Mirzā brought boats up the river to near Jūn, and his men and the Emperor's often fought on board, and many were killed on both sides. Day by day there were desertions to Shāh Husain. In one of these fights was killed Mullā Tāju-d-dīn whom his Majesty held in the greatest favour as a pearl of knowledge.

There was a squabble between Tardi Muhammad Khān and Mu'nīm Khān. Mu'nīm Khān consequently deserted

¹ A stubborn fight, and fateful for Humāyūn. It occurred in November, 1548.

² Son of Nizāmu-d dīn 'Alī *Khalīfa Barlās* and of Sultānam who appears to be Gul badan's former hostess (14a).

³ Daughter of Khalīfa, and as such sister or half sister of Khālid, and daughter or stepdaughter of Sultānam. She is, I believe, the Gul barg of earlier episodes and a wife of Humāyūn.

Very few amīls remained, amongst them were Tardī Muhammad Khān and Mīzā Yādgār and Mīzā Payanda Muhammad and Muhammad Walī and Nadīm *kūka* and Raushan *kūka* and Khadang¹ the chamberlain. Then there was word brought 'Bairām Khān has reached Jūlkā (Hāj-kān) on his way from Gujrāt'. The Emperor was delighted, and ordered Khadang and others to give him honourable meeting.

Meantime Shāh Husain Mīzā had heard of Bairām Khān's coming and sent to capture him. Bairām Khān rashly went into a hollow, and there they fell upon him (50b). Khadang the chamberlain was killed. Bairām Khān and the rest escaped, and the khān came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

At this time letters arrived (addressed to) Mīrzā Hindāl for his Majesty from Qaiācha Khān, saying 'You have been long near Bhakkai, and during the whole time Shāh Husain Mīzā has given no sign of good-will but the reverse. By Heaven's grace, an easy way is open, and it is best for the Emperor to come here (to Qandahār). This is really advisable. If he will not come, come you yourself without fail.' As his Majesty's coming was delayed, Qaiācha Khān went out and met Mīrzā Hindāl, and made over the town to him (in the autumn of 1541).

Mīrzā 'Askarī was in Ghaznīn, and to him Mīrzā Kāmīrān wrote 'Qaiācha Khān has given over Qandahār to Mīrzā Hindāl. Qandahār must be considered.' His idea was to take it from Mīrzā Hindāl.

On hearing of these things, his Majesty came to his aunt Khānzāda Begam,² and said with great urgency 'Pray do

¹ Probably the father of Maywajūn. Bairām arrived April 12th, 1548 (Muharram 7th, 950H.)

² From this it would seem that Khānzāda was in Sind with Humāyūn. No other writer, I believe, mentions this or the embassy on which she is now sent. The Uzbegs and Turkmāns do not appear apropos here. If, as Gulbadan says,—and her authority is good,—Khānzāda now went to Qandahār, she will have gone on to Kābul, possibly with Hindāl after he surrendered the town to Kāmīrān. Of Mahdī Khwāja, Khānzāda's husband, I find no mention made by any



WALTCH IN CELEBRATION OF AKBAR'S BIRTH

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me the honour of going to Qandahār and advising Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Kāmrān (51a) Tell them that the Uzbegs and the Turkmāns are near them, and that the best plan is to be friends amongst themselves. If Mīrzā Kāmrān will agree to carry out what I have written to him, I will do what his heart desires.

Mīrzā Kāmiān came to Qandahār four days after the begam's arrival.¹ Day after day he urged 'Read the *khutba* in my name', and again and again Mīrzā Hindāl said 'In his life-time his Majesty *Firdaus-mahānī* gave his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn and named him his successor. We all agreed to this, and up till now have read the *khutba* in his name. There is no way of changing the *khutba*.² Mīrzā Kāmrān wrote to her Highness, Dil-dār Begam.³ 'I have come from Kābul with you in mind. It is strange that you should not once have come to see me (51b). Be a mother to me as you are to Mīrzā Hindāl.' At last Dil-dār Begam went to see him, and he said 'Now I shall not let you go till you send for Mīrzā Hindāl.' Dil-dār Begam said 'Khānzāda Begam is your elder kinswoman, and oldest and highest of you all. Ask her the truth about the *khutba*.' So then he spoke to Āla. Her Highness Khānzāda Begam answered 'If you ask me well, as his Majesty *Firdaus-mahānī* decided it and gave his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn, and as you, all of you, have read the *khutba* in his name till now, so now regard him as your superior and remain in obedience to him.'

To cut the matter short, Mīrzā Kāmrān besieged Qandahār and kept on insisting about the *khutba* for four

historian after Bābar's death,—a singular fact and matched by the similar disappearance of the great Khalīfa. Abū'l-fazl names his tomb. Cf App. s. n. Khānzāda.

¹ She had a weary journey from Jūn to Qandahār, and Kāmrān had another, but less toilsome, from Kābul. Kāmrān kept Hindāl besieged, but there seems to have been a good deal of communication between besiegers and beleaguered.

² Our memory is better than the begam's, and we remember that Hindāl found no difficulty in changing the *khutba* to his own name in Dīhlī.

³ She would be probably with her son Hindāl in the fort.

months At last he settled it in this way 'Very well' the Emperor is now far away Read the *lhuṣṭa* in my name and when he comes back, read it in his' As the siege had drawn out to great length, and people had gradually come to cruel straits, there was no help for it, the *lhuṣṭa* was read (52a) He gave Qandahār to Mīrzā Askarī and promised Ghaznīn to Mīrzā Hindāl When they reached Ghaznīn, he assigned the Lamghānāt and the mountain passes (Tangayhā)¹ to the mīrzā, and all those promises were false²

Mīrzā Hindāl went off to Badakhshān, and settled down in Khost and Andar-āb Mīrzā Kāmīān said to Dil-dār Begam 'Go and fetch him' When she arrived, the mīrzā said 'I have withdrawn myself from the turmoil of soldiering, and even³ Khost is a hermitage I have quite settled down' The begam answered 'If you intend to lead the darvish-life, even³ Kābul is a hermitage Live where your family and kinsfolk are That is the better plan' Then she made him come, and for awhile he lived as a darvish in Kābul

✓About this time, Mīr Shāh Husain sent to the Emperor to say 'The course favouring fortune is for you to march for Qandahār That is the better plan' His Majesty was willing, and replied 'Horses and camels are scarce in my camp, give me some to travel with to Qandahār' (52b) Shāh Husain Mīrza agreed, and said 'There are a thousand camels on the other side of the river, which I will send to you as soon as you have crossed' ✓

[If words by Khwāja Kasak (? Kīsik), kinsman of Khwāja Ghāzī, are recorded about the journey from Bhakkar and Sind, they are copied from the writings of the said Khwāja Kasak⁴]

¹ (?) The *Tangī* of Rudyard Kipling

² The *Tūīkh* i *badāyūnī* states that Ghaznīn was given to Hindāl and then taken away, and Mr Erskine comments on this as probably untrue (B & H, II 265 n) Gul badan here supports 'Abdu l qadir

³ 'as good as any other place' is perhaps the import of the *ham*

⁴ We surmise that this is a gloss of Gul badan, who has copied from a diary or writings of Khwāja Kasak This name may be the *Türkī kīsik*, a guard, a sentinel No Persian word seems appropriate



HYMN OF PRAISE FOR AKBAR'S BIRTH

Of especial interest are the faces of the open mouthed singers Hamida bānū is probably the featureless person on the estrade

[To face p 102

At length the Emperor went on board boats, with kinsfolk and family, army and the rest, and travelled for three days on the great river. At the frontier of Shāh Husam Mirzā's territory is a village called Nuāsī¹. Here they halted, and his Majesty sent Sultān Qulī, the head-camel-driver, to fetch the camels. Sultān Qulī brought a thousand, all of which his Majesty gave to his amīrs, and soldiers, and others, ordering them to be apportioned.

The camels were such that one might say they had not known city, or load, or man for seven, or rather seventy, generations. As horses were few, many people took camels to ride on, and what were left were assigned for the baggage. Every camel which was mounted, at once flung its rider to the ground, and took its way to the jungle (53a). Every pack-camel, when it heard the sound of horses' feet, jumped and bounded and tossed off its load, and went off and away to the jungle. If a load was fixed so fast that, jump as it would, it could not get it off, it carried it away and ran with it into the jungle. This was the way the Emperor started for Qandahār. Some 200 camels must have gone off like this.

Shāh Husam Mirzā's head-camel-driver Mahmūd was in Sīwī (Sībī), and when the Emperor came near, he strengthened the citadel and retired into it. His Majesty came prosperously to within twelve miles' distance. Then word was brought that Mīr Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūjūk² had arrived in Sīwī from Kābul two days earlier, and were going on to (visit) Shāh Husam Mirzā. By them Mirzā Kāmrān had sent a dress of honour, and *tipūchāq* horses, and much fruit, and they were to ask for Mirzā Shāh Husam's daughter³.

The Emperor said to Khwāja Ghāzī 'As there is the

¹ Runāī, B & H, II 262. The text is clear.

² Both these names may be sobriquets. Abū l faẓl names Shaikh Abdu l wahab as Allāh dost's companion. (A N, Bib Ind ed I 189 *et seq*.)

Jūjūk is perhaps the Tūrki 'sweet savoured,' and an epithet of 'Abdu l wahab, a lawyer with persuasive tongue.

³ The daughter has already been named as promised.

tie of father and son¹ between you and Allāh-dost, write and ask him in what way Mīrzā Kāmīān stands towards me, and what he will do if I go into his neighbourhood' (53b) He also gave this order to Khwāja Kasak 'Go to Sīwī, and ask Mīr Allāh-dost whether he thinks it advisable for me to come to Kābul' The khwāja set out, and the Emperor said 'We will not march till you have returned'

When the khwāja came near Sīwī, Mahmūd, the head-camel-driver, caught him, and asked 'Why are you here?' 'To buy horses and camels,' he answered Mahmūd ordered 'Feel under his arm and search his cap Heaven forbid that he should have brought a letter to win over Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūyūk' They searched, and brought out the letter from under his arm He had no chance to twist it into a fold² Mahmūd took it and read it, and, not letting the khwāja go, forthwith conveyed Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūyūk into the fort, and with various roughnesses made them swear 'We had no knowledge of his coming here' (54a) (?) He has taken the initiative,³ and 'Khwāja Ghāzī is related to us and he was with Mīrzā Kāmīān,⁴ and this is why he has written' Mahmūd decided to send all three to Shāh Husain, and Mīr Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūyūk spent the whole night smoothing him down and entreating him, and in the end they were set free

Mīr Allāh-dost sent 3,000⁵ pomegranates and 100 quinces for his Majesty's use, and wrote no letter, because he was afraid it might fall into the wrong hands By word of mouth he sent to say 'If a letter should come from Mīrzā Askarī or the amīs, it would not be bad to go to Kābul,

¹ Probably a spiritual relationship, that of religious teacher and disciple

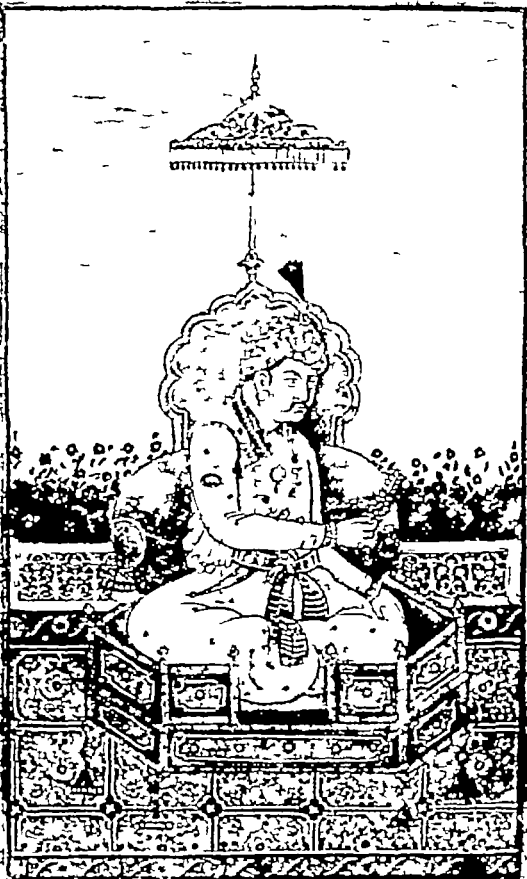
² (?) to toss it secretly into a corner

³ *sabq khwānda ast* Perhaps Kasak as a pupil 'has said his lessons to us,' i.e., to Allāh dost

⁴ He had been Kāmīān's *diwān* up to the time when the royal family left Lāhōr, and he joined Humāyūn when the brothers parted for Sind and for Kābul

⁵ Text, *sīṣad*, but perhaps only 300 should be read

نام و زمان و	نام پدر	نام مادر	قوم	سال ولادت	محل ولادت
محمد اکبر بادشاه	امیر تیمور	حبیبة باجویم	بغت	شعب الثور	کلا نور



THE EMPEROR AKBAR
(AISHĀSHĪĀNĪ)

but if not, it will be clear to your Majesty that nothing is to be gained by going. You have few followers. What, then, will happen?’

Kasak came and reported this. The Emperor was stupefied and bewildered, and said ‘What is to be done? Where am I to go?’ They all consulted together (54b) Taidi Muhammad Khān and Bairām Khān gave it as their opinion that it was impossible to decide to go anywhere but to the north and Shal-mastān,¹ the frontier of Qandahār. ‘There are many Afghans in those parts,’ they said, ‘whom we shall draw over to our side. Mirzā ‘Askarī’s people, too, will join us.’

Having settled it in this way, they recited the *fātiha* and went, march by march, for Qandahār. Near Shal-mastān they halted in a village named Ranī (? Ralī), but as it had snowed and rained, and was extremely cold, they determined to go on to Shal-mastān. At afternoon prayer-time an Uzbek youth, mounted on a sorry and tired-out pony, came in, and cried out ‘Mount, your Majesty! I will explain on the way, time presses. There is no time to talk.’² The Emperor mounted the very hour the alarm was given, and went off.

He went two arrows’ flight, and then sent Khwāja Mu‘azzam and Bairām Khān to fetch Hamīda-banū Begam (55a). They went and mounted her, but there was not a chink of time in which to take the Emperor Jalālu d-dīn Muhammad Akbar. Just when the begam left the camp to join his Majesty, Mirzā ‘Askarī came up with 2,000 troopers. There was an outcry, and when he heard it, he entered the camp³ and asked ‘Where is the Emperor?’ People said ‘He went hunting long ago.’ So the mirzā knew that his Majesty had gone away just as he himself

¹ Approximately Quetta. The route seems to have been over the Bolan.

² The youth was Chupī Bahūdūr, a former servant of Humāyūn. Gul badan’s story differs in some details from that told by other writers.

³ Late in 950H (1548) The little Akbar reached Qandahār on December 15th, 1548.

came in Then he took possession of the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar, and gave him in charge to his wife Sultānam,¹ who showed him much kindness and affection He made all the royal followers march, saying 'Go to Qandahāi'

His Majesty, when he left, took the road to the mountains He went eight miles, and then travelled as fast as possible ² (55b) He had with him Banām Khān, Khwāja Mu'azzam, Khwāja Nīāzī, Nadīm *kūka*³ and Raushan *kūka*, and Hājī Muhammad Khān, and Bābā-dost the paymaster, and Mīrzā Qulī Beg *chūlī*,⁴ and Haider Muhammad the master of the horse, and Shaikh Yūsuf *chūlī*, and Ibrāhīm the chamberlain, and Hasan 'Alī, the chamberlain, and Ya'qūb the keeper of the armoury, and 'Ambar the superintendent and the royal agent (*mulk-mukhtār*), and Sambal captain of a thousand, and Khwāja Kasak ⁵

Khwāja Ghāzī says ⁶ 'I also was in attendance' This company went with the Emperor, and Hamīda-bānū Begam says,⁶ 'There were as many as thirty people,' and that of women there was, besides herself, the wife of Hasan 'Alī, the chamberlain

The prayer before sleep had passed before they reached the foot of the mountains The snow lay deep, so there was no road to go up by Their minds were full of anxiety lest that unjust creature, Mīrzā 'Askarī, should follow them At last they found a way up, and climbed it in some sort of fashion They were all night in the snow, and (at first) there was neither wood for fire nor food to eat

¹ I believe she was in Qandahār, and that she received the child on his arrival there

² Perhaps he rode four kos, and then, having waited for Hamīda, hurried on.

³ His wife, Māham *anaga*, remained behind with Akbar With Akbar was also *Atka* Khān (Shamsu d dīn Muhammad) and his wife, Jī jī *anaga*

⁴ Humāyūn's sobriquet for those who went to Persia with him, from *chūl*, a desert. Others in this list might claim it

⁵ Nizām d dīn Ahmad puts the number of the party at twenty two

⁶ The tense used suggests conference and talking over Jauhar says that Khwāja Ghāzī joined Humāyūn in Persia from Makka This looks like a contradiction of Jauhar

They grew very hungry and feeble (56a) The Emperor gave orders to kill a horse There was no cooking pot, so they boiled some of the flesh in a helmet, and some they roasted They made fires on all four sides, and with his own blessed hand the Emperor roasted some meat which he ate He used to say 'My very head was frozen by the intense cold'

Morning came at last, and he pointed to another mountain, and said 'There are people on that, there will be many Bilūchīs there, and there we must go' On they went, and reached the place in two days They saw a few houses near them, and a few savage Bilūchīs whose speech is the tongue of the ghouls of the waste

The Emperor halted on the skirt of the mountain There were about thirty people with him The Bilūchīs saw him, and collected and came near He had settled comfortably in his tent, so they knew from far off that he was halting They said to one another 'If we seize these people and take them to Mīrzā 'Askarī, he will certainly give us their arms, and many gifts besides' (56b)

Hasan 'Alī, the chamberlain, had a Bilūchī wife who understood what the ghouls of the waste were saying, and who made it known that they meant mischief Early in the morning the Emperor thought of marching on, but they said 'Our chief is not here When he comes, you shall go' Besides this, the time had become unsuitable, and so the whole night was spent there in strict watchfulness

Part of the night had gone when the chief arrived He waited on the Emperor, and said 'A *farmān* has come from Mīrzā Kāmran and Mīrzā 'Askarī, in which it is written "It is reported that the Emperor may visit your dwellings If he does, beware!—a thousand times beware!—of letting him go Seize him and bring him to us You can keep his goods and horses Take him to Qandahār" As I had not seen your Majesty, I at first had this evil thought, but now I will sacrifice my life and the lives of my family, I have five or six sons, for your Majesty's head,

or rather for one han of it (57a) Go where you wish God protect you! Mīrzā 'Askarī may do what he likes' The Emperor gave him a ruby and a pearl and some other things

At dawn he marched to honour Fort Bābā Hājī¹ by a visit He reached it in two days It belongs to the Garm-sīr,² and lies on the river (Halmand) There are many sayyids there, and they waited on the Emperor and showed him hospitality.

Next morning Khwāja 'Alāwalu-d-dīn (Jalālu-d-dīn) Mahmūd,³ having left Mīrzā 'Askarī, came with an offering of a string of mules, and one of horses and tents, etc, whatever he had Once more the royal heart was at ease Hājī Muhammad Khān *kūlkū*⁴ brought thirty or forty troopers and offered a string of mules

✓Being helpless because of the disunion of his brothers⁵ and the desertion of his amīrs, it now seemed best to the Emperor,—with reliance on the Causer of causes,—to decide upon going to Khurāsān⁶ (57b)

After many stages and a journey of many days, he came to parts adjacent to Khurāsān ~ When Shāh 'Tahmās (*sic*) heard that he had reached the Halmand, he remained sunk in wonder and thought, and said (The Emperor Humāyūn has come to our frontier by the perfidious revolution of the firmament,—the firmament unpropitious and crooked of gait¹ The Lord, whose existence is necessary, has led him here!')

He sent all sorts of people to give honourable reception,

¹ Fort of the Pilgrim Father

² i.e., a warm climate, a winter habitation in low ground, and cultivated fields

³ He was a revenue collector of the mīrzā

⁴ Son of Bābī Qūshka, an intimate of Bābar

⁵ Kāmran was master of Kābul and Ghazni, Qandahār, Khutlūn and Badakhshān 'Askarī was attached to his full brother's fortunes, and Hindāl was a prisoner in Kābul Shīr Shīh ruled Bābar's Indian Empire, and Shāh Husam was in Sind Certainly there seemed no 'crack' to hold Humāyūn The date is December, 1543

⁶ i.e., on his way to Persia proper Humāyūn's messenger to the Shāh was Chupī Bahādur (55a and n)

nobles and grandees, low and high, great and small All came to the Halmand to meet the Emperor¹

The Shāh sent all his brothers to meet his Majesty,—Bahrām Mirzā, and Alqās Mirzā, and Sām Mirzā All came and embraced him, and escorted him with full honour and respect. As they drew near (the Shāh) his brothers sent him word, and he also came riding to meet the Emperor They embraced (58a) The friendship and concord of those two high placed pāshas was as close as two nut-kernels in one shell² Great unanimity and good feeling ensued, so that during his Majesty's stay in that country, the Shāh often went to his quarters, and on days when he did not, the Emperor went to his

✓In Khurāsān³ his Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sultān Husain Mirzā, and the grand structures of olden days ✓

There was hunting eight times while he was in 'Irāq, and each time trouble was taken for him also Hamīdā-bānū Begam used to enjoy the sight from a distance in either a camel or a horse litter Shāhzāda Sultānam,⁴ the Shāh's sister, used to ride on horseback, and take her stand

¹ He had crossed the river without receiving invitation or permission, because of Kāmran's threatened approach The incidents of Humāyūn's visit to Persia are very entertaining (B & HL, II 275 *et seq.*)

² A figure of speech too compact to leave room for the facts The intercourse of the pāshas was dramatic with human passion and foible Much of the story would be distasteful to Gul badan's family pride and vexatious to her orthodoxy

³ Not only in Khurāsān but on and off the route to Tahmāsp's summer quarters where the pāshas met, did Humāyūn visit note worthy places He saw Harūt as his father had done, and later his devious journey took him to Jīm, where he saw the shrine of his own and of Hamīda's ancestor, the Terrible Elephant, Almad He visited the tomb of the Founder of the Safī dynasty at Ardabīl, and the date of his visit (1544) makes it probable that he trod that 'Holy Carpet' of Ardabīl which had been woven in 1540 for the shrine and which now attracts our respectful admiration in the Oriental Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum (S K M)

⁴ This lady afforded Humāyūn vital assistance in Persia, and even pleaded for his life when it was in the balance She was highly esteemed by Tahmāsp, and had influence in state affairs

behind her brother. His Majesty said (to Hamīda-bānū) 'There was a woman riding behind the Shāh at the hunt. She stood with her reins held by a white-bearded man. People told me it was Shāhzāda Sultānam, the Shāh's sister' (58b). In short, the Shāh showed the Emperor much hospitality and courtesy, and laid a charge (on his sister) to show motherly and sisterly hospitality and sympathy (to Hamīda-bānū Begam) ¹

One day, when Shāhzāda Sultānam had entertained the begam, the Shāh said to her 'When (next) you offer hospitality, let it be arranged outside the city'. It was on a beautiful plain, rather more than four miles out, that they pitched tents (*khama*) and folding-tents (*khurga*) and an audience-tent (*bārgā*), and also set up *chatr*² and *tāq* ³

In Khurāsān and those parts they use enclosing screens (*sarāpāda*), but they do not put them at the back. The Emperor set up an all-round screen after the Hindū fashion (*hindūāna*). Having pitched the tents, the Shāh's people put coloured chicks (*cheghhā*) all round. His kinswomen and his paternal aunt were there, and his sisters and the ladies of his *haram*, and the wives of the khāns and sultāns and amīrs, about 1,000 women in all splendour and adornment.

That day Shāhzāda Sultānam asked Hamīda-bānū Begam (59a) 'Are such *chatr* and *tāq* met with in Hindūstan?' The begam answered 'They say two *dāng*⁴ with respect to Khurāsān, and four *dāng* with respect to Hin-

¹ An obscure passage in the text, and conjectural only in translation. The Persian words I have rendered 'motherly and sisterly' are *mādarāna wa khvāharāna*. On this same page occurs *hindūāna*, at 48b, *nikūhāna*, and at 62a, *pādshāhāna*.

² (?) umbrella shaped tents

³ round topped tents or balconies, or arched erections

⁴ or *dūnah*. Hazarding a guess, the meaning 'quarter of the world' seems fittest to select from the several of *dūng* or *dūnah*. Others conceivably applicable are 'a small grain' (*anglice*, peppercorn in this connection), and the sixth of anything (*anglice*, the colloquial 'fraction'). Doubtless my difficulty is none to those experienced in colloquial Persian.

Hamīda's ready use of a colloquial phrase to express that the reputedly greater contains the less is neat and diplomatic.

dustīn When a thing is found in two *dānq*, it is clear it will be found better in four

Shīh Sultānām said also, in reply to her own paternal aunt, and in confirmation of the begam's words 'Aunt, it is strange that you ask, "Where are two *dānq*?' where are four *dānq*?' It is clear anything would be found better and more wonderful (in four than in two)'

They passed the whole day very well in sociable festivity At the time of eating, all the amirs' wives stood and served, and the Shīh's ladies placed¹ food before Shīhīda Sultānām

Moreover, they were hospitable with all sorts of stuffs, embroidered and others to Hamīda binu Begam, as was incumbent and fitting The Shīh went on in advance² and was in his Majesty's quarters till the prayer before sleep (°b) When he heard that Hamīda binu Begam had arrived, he rose from the presence and went home To such a height of pleasantness and kindness was he amiable³

Raushan *lūla*, spite of his former fidelity and services, was now faithless, in that foreign and perilous country, about some valuable rubies These used to be kept in the Emperor's amulet case (*lumar*⁴), and of this he and the begam knew and no one else If he went away anywhere, he used to give the amulet-case into her charge One day she was going to wash her head, so she bundled the case up in a handkerchief, and put it on the Emperor's bed Raushan *lūla* thought this a good chance to steal five rubies Then he agreed with Khwaja Ghazī, and trusted them to him, meaning by and by to barter them away

When the begam came back from washing her head, the Emperor gave her the amulet case, and she at once knew

¹ *mandand*, used transitively, also at *la*

² *mihmānī lardand* (?) In the way of gifts, or perhaps by lavish decoration

³ *ī c*, from the place of entertainment to the town

⁴ Also *lumar*, an amulet case of gold or silver suspended on the neck

as a brother ' Then the two sovereigns again became of one mind, and made clean heart to one another

The two wrong-doers were excluded from the presence, and were made over to the Shāh, who, when opportunity occurred, got possession of those robes,¹ and, as to the men, ordered ' Let them be kept in custody ' ²

[His Majesty's time in 'Irāq was (now) spent happily In various ways the Shāh showed good feeling, and every day sent presents of rare and strange things] (62a)

At length the Shāh despatched his own son and khāns and sultans and amīrs with his Majesty to help him, together with good arms and tents, folding and audience tents, and *chati* and *faq* and *shamāna*, excellently wrought, and all sorts of the things necessary and fit for a king, from the mattress-warehouse and the treasury and the workshops and kitchen and buttery [In a propitious hour those two mighty sovereigns bade one another farewell, and his Majesty left that country for Qandahār ³

[At the time of his departure, he asked pardon from the Shāh for the offence of those two faithless ones (Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan kūha), and, having himself forgiven them, took them with him to Qandahār

[When Mirzā 'Askarī heard (1545) that he was on his way from Khurāsān and approaching Qandahār, he sent the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar to Mīzā Kāmīān in Kābul, who gave him into the care of Dearest Lady, Khānzāda Begam, and our paternal aunt] (62b) He was two and a half years old when she received him into her charge She was very fond of him, and used to kiss his hands and feet, and say ' They are the very hands and feet of my brother the Emperor Bābar, and he is like him altogether ' ⁴

¹ (?) those already bartered away

² They were, it would seem, let down by tent ropes into the celebrated underground prison of Sulaimān's *Duwal* (Jauhar, Stewart, 72)

³ Humāyūn again indulged his love of travel and sights, and delayed so long in Persian territory that the Shāh, coming unexpectedly upon him, angrily turned him off without ceremony

⁴ The child was just over three It was now that he and Bakhshī bānū travelled together to Kābul in the snow

[When Mirzā Kāmrān was sure that the Emperor was approaching Qandahār, he went to Dearest Lady and cried, and was very humble, and said with countless pains ¹ 'Go you (May your journey be safe!) to Qandahār to the Emperor and make peace between us']

When she left (Kābul) she made over the Emperor Akbar to Mīrzā Kāmiān, who gave him into the care of (Muhtarīma) Khānam. Then she travelled as fast as possible to Qandahār [The Emperor besieged Mīrzā Kāmrān² and Mirzā 'Askarī for forty days in the city, and he sent Bairām Khān on an embassy to Mirzā Kāmiān] (63a) [Mirzā 'Askarī grew dejected and humble, admitted his offences, and came out and paid his duty to the Emperor, who then took possession of Qandahār (September 4th, 1545). He bestowed it upon the son of the Shāh, who in a few days fell ill and died ⁴. When Bairām Khān⁵ arrived, it was given into his charge]

[The Emperor left Hamīda-bānū Begam in Qandahār] and set out after Mirzā Kāmrān. Dearest Lady, Khānzāda Begam, went with him, and at Qabal chak⁶ she had three days of fever. The doctors' remedies were of no avail, and on the fourth day of her illness she passed to the mercy of God. At first she was buried at Qabal-chak, but three months later her body was brought to Kābul and laid in the burial-place of my royal father ⁷.

During several years that Mīrzā Kāmiān was in Kābul,

¹ of persuasion

² The context shows that this is wrong, and so do the histories

³ Bairām saw Akbar in Kābul, and also Hindāl, Sulamān, Haram, Ibrāhīm and Yādgār nāsir, all under surveillance. The embassy reached Kābul before Khānzāda left, and she travelled with Bairām on his return to Humāyūn

⁴ He was an infant

⁵ The begam's chronology is faulty here. Bairām had returned before the capitulation

⁶ For location of this place cf. *Albarnūma* H. B., I 477 n. It seems to have been in the mountain district of Tīrī, between the basins of the Halmand and the Arghand āb

⁷ Khānzāda, Mahdī (her husband) and Abū l ma ālī are buried in the same spot

he had never made a hostile raid,¹ and now, all at once, when he heard of his Majesty's approach, desirous to break forth (? hunt) seized him, and he went into the Hazāra country² (63b)

Mīrzā Hindāl, who had chosen the daivish's corner (in Kābul), now heard of the Emperor's return from 'Ilaq and Khurāsān, and of his success in Qandahār. He saw his chance, and sent for Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsr, and said 'The Emperor has come to Qandahār, and has been victorious. Mīrzā Kāmīān sent Khānzāda Begam to sue for peace, but the Emperor did not agree to his sort of peace. The Emperor sent Bairām Khān as his envoy, and Mīrzā Kāmīān did not agree to what he proposed. [Now the Emperor has given Qandahār to Bairām Khān and has set out for Kābul. Come now, let us, you and I, plan and agree together, and scheme how to betake ourselves to his Majesty.] Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsr agreed, and the two made then plan and compact. Mīrzā Hindāl said 'You make up your mind to run away and when Mīrzā Kāmīān hears of it, he will certainly say to me "Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsr has gone off, go and persuade him to come back with you" (64a). You go slowly, slowly on till I come. Then we will go as quickly as we can and pay our respects to the Emperor.'

(Having so settled it, Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsr ran away.) The news went to Mīrzā Kāmīān, who came back at once to Kābul and sent for Mīrzā Hindāl and said 'Go and persuade Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsr to come back.' Mīrzā Hindāl mounted at once, and joined Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsr with all speed. Then they travelled post-haste for five or six days, when they were honoured by paying their duty to the Emperor.

¹ *tākhht raftan*. I do not know what the begam wishes to say. Kāmīān had made hostile raids to Badakhshān and against the Hazāras. One might read 'hunting expedition.'

² He had a Hazāra wife. Perhaps the passage about Kāmīān's hostile raid or hunting is merely an introduction to Hindāl's plan of escape. (Cf B & H, II. 814, 815, for this story.)

who planned to go to Tatta and Bhakkar. In Khizr Khān Hazāra's country, which lies on the way to Bhakkar, he married Habiba Begam to Āq Sultān and entrusted her to him, while he himself went on.

The victorious Emperor dismounted in triumph in the Bālā-i-hisū when five hours of the night of Ramzān 12th had passed,—prosperously and with safety and good luck.¹ All those followers of Mīrzā Kāmrān who had been promoted to the royal service, entered Kābul with drums beating (November, 1545).

On the 12th of the same month, her Highness my mother, Dīl-dān Begam, and Gul-chihā Begam, and this lowly person paid our duty to the Emperor. For five years we had been shut out and cut off from this pleasure, so now when we were freed from the moil and pain of separation, we were lifted up by our happiness in meeting this Lord of beneficence again. Merely to look at him eased the sorrow-stricken heart and purged the blear-eyed vision (65b). Again and again we joyfully made the prostration of thanks. There were many festive gatherings, and people sat from evening to dawn, and players and singers made continuous music. Many amusing games, full of fun, were played. Amongst them was this. Twelve players had each twenty cards and twenty *shāhrukhīs*. Whoever lost, lost those twenty *shāhrukhīs*, which would make five *misqāls*.² Each player gave the winner his twenty *shāhrukhīs* to add to his own.³

To widows and orphans, and kinsfolk of men who had

¹ The hour was probably fixed by astrological counsel. Abū'l faẓl, who may follow the begam's statement, says that the entry took place on the 12th, other writers name the 10th. The only reason for dwelling on the point is the agreement of Abū'l faẓl and Gul badan.

² One *shāhrukhī* was about ten pence. Four *shāhrukhīs* made one *misqāl*.

³ Mr Erskine says that the earliest mention of cards as made known to him by an Oriental writer is when Bābar sends some to Shāh Husain Aḡhūn who was 'very fond' of them, by Mīr 'Alī, the armour bearer, in 988H (1526/27). No doubt such an easy means of speeding the hours was known to the ladies of Bābar's family as early as to anyone else, and Gul badan is perhaps merely describing a new game.

been wounded and killed at Chausa and Kanauj, or Bhakkar, or who were in the royal service during those intermissions,¹ he gave pension, and rations, and water, and land, and servants. In the days of his Majesty's good fortune, great tranquillity and happiness befell soldiers and peasants. They lived without care, and put up many an ardent prayer for his long life (a))

{ A few days later he sent persons to bring Hamīda-bānū Begam from Qandahār. When she arrived, they celebrated the feast of the circumcision of the Emperor Jalālu d dīn Muhammad Akbar. Preparations were made, and after the New Year they kept splendid festivity for seventeen days. People dressed in green,² and thirty or forty girls were ordered to wear green and come out to the hills. On the first day of the New Year they went out to the Hill of the Seven Brothers and there passed many days in ease and enjoyment and happiness. The Emperor Muhammad Akbar was five years old when they made the circumcision feast in Kabul. They gave it in that same large Audience Hall Garden.³ They decorated all the bazars. Mirzā Hindal and Mirzā Yadgar-nashī, and the sultans and amirs, decorated their quarters beautifully, and in Bega Begam's garden the begams and ladies made theirs quite wonderful in a new fashion.

All the sultāns and amīrs brought gifts to the Audience Hall Garden (a)) There were many elegant festivities and grand entertainments, and costly *lhu lats* and head to-

¹ Text, *faqratha*. The begam writes this word sometimes with a *tā* and sometimes with a *to c*.

² i.e., Persian era. Nizāmū d dīn Ahmad places the date of entry into Kabul by Humayūn on Ramzān 10th, 953H, and says Akbar was then four years, two months and five days old. 'Some place the event in the year 952H, but God knows the truth. It is strange that there should be doubt about a historical event occurring not more than fifty years before this resigned statement was made. Abū l faṭl gives Ramzān 12th, 952H (November 17th, 1545), as the date of entry, which would fix the feast for March 1546, when Akbar was three years and five months old. (Born October 15th, 1542.)

³ Probably in honour of the spring season.

⁴ This is the garden where the ladies rejoiced after the victory at Pānīpat (10b). Hence, perhaps, the use of the word 'same'.

foot¹ dresses were bestowed Peasants and preachers, the pious, the poor and the needy, noble and plebeian, low and high,—everybody lived in peace and comfort, passing the days in amusement and the nights in talk

Then the Emperor went to Fort Victory (Qila'-i-zafar)² In it was Mirzā Sulaimān, who came out to fight but could not stand face to face with his Majesty and so decided to run away The Emperor then entered the fort safe and sound Then he went to Kishm, where, after a little while, an illness attacked his blessed frame and he slept day and night³ When he came to his senses, he sent Mun'im Khān's brother, Fazā'il Beg, to Kābul, and said 'Go! comfort and reassure the people of Kābul Set them at ease in various ways⁴ Let them not quarrel Say "It began ill, but has ended well"' (67a)

When Fazā'il Beg had gone, he (Humāyūn) went one day nearer Kābul⁵

False news having been sent to Mīrzā Kāmīn in Bhakkar, he set out post-haste for Kābul In Ghaznī he killed Zāhid Beg⁶ and then came on It was morning, the Kābulis were off then guard, the gates had been opened in the old way, and water carriers and grass-cuts were going in and out, and the mīrzā passed into the fort with all

¹ Perhaps there is expressed here a difference of degree of honour in the *khir'lat* and *sar u-pāi*

² Sulaimān had not made submission to Humāyūn,—hence this expedition to Badakhshūn

³ He is said to have been insensible for four days He was nursed by Māh chūchak and Bibī Fātima, an armed woman (*ordū begī*) of the *haram* She was, it would seem, mother of Zuhra *āghā*, the wife of Khwāja Mu'azzam, and to save whose life Akbar nearly lost his own (Elliot, V 292, B & H, II 830 *et seq.*)

⁴ (?) As to his health, and their own safety from Kāmīn's return, and the continuance of the situation as he had left it The illness and convalescence lasted at least two months He fell ill in Shāhdān, between Khishm and Qila' i zafar, and Qarācha Khān, his vazir, behaved with decision and good sense, so that Humāyūn's authority was upheld

⁵ Doubtful translation Humāyūn is elsewhere said to have gone to Qila' i zafar to recruit, and Fazā'il to have arrived in Kābul a few hours after the first news there of the illness Perhaps one of these occurrences is behind this obscure statement

⁶ Husband of Bega Begam's sister

When he came near to Kābul, Mīzā Kāmīrān sent for her Highness my mother and for me from the house,¹ and gave my mother orders to reside in the armourer's house. To me he said 'This is your house as well as mine. You stay here.' 'Why,' I asked, 'should I stay here? I will stay with my mother.' He then went on 'Moreover, write to Khizr Khwāja Khān and tell him to come and join me and to keep an easy mind, for just as Mīrā 'Askarī and Mīzā Hindāl are my brothers, so is he. Now is the time to help.' I answered 'Khizr Khwāja Khān has no way of recognising a letter² from me. I have never written to him myself. He writes to me when he is away, by the tongue of his sons. Write yourself what is in your mind.' At last he sent Mahdī Sultān³ and Shīr 'Alī to fetch the khān. From the first I had said to the khān 'Your brothers may be with Mīrā Kāmīrān, (but) God forbid that you should have the thought of going to him and joining them (csb). Beware, a thousand times beware of thinking of separating yourself from the Emperor.' Praise be to God! the khān kept to what I said.

When the Emperor heard that Mīzā Kāmīrān had sent Mahdī Sultān³ and Shīr 'Alī to fetch Khizr Khwāja Khān, he himself despatched Qambai Beg, the son of Mīzā Hājī, to the khān, who was then in his own *jāgān*, and said 'Beware, a thousand times beware! Let there be no joining Mīzā Kāmīrān. Come and wait on me.' The result of this auspicious message was that the khān set out at once for court, and came to the 'Uqābain (Hill of the two eagles) and paid his respects.

When the Emperor passed Minār Hill, Mīzā Kāmīrān sent forward all his well-ordered soldiers under Shīr

¹ Presumably the brick and mud quarters of the ladies

² *Suād na dūrad hī khaṭṭ i marā shimasad* I understand that he had not seen her handwriting, and would not know whether a letter purporting to be hers was a forgery. Gul badān names one son only, Sa'ādat yār, as being her own. She is now about twenty-five

³ Brother of Khizr and of Yasīn daulat (Āq Sultān)

Afkan,¹ the father of Shīroja, so that they might go out and fight' We saw from above² how he went out with his drums beating, out beyond Bābā Dashī, and we said, 'God forbid you should fight,' and we wept (69a) When he reached the Afghāns' village (*Dih 1- Iqḥānān*), the two vanguards came face to face The royal advance-guard at once drove off the mīrzā's³ and, having taken many prisoners, brought them to the Emperor He ordered the Mughals to be cut to pieces⁴ Many of the mīrzā's men who had gone out to fight were captured and some of them were killed and some were kept prisoners Amongst them was Jūkī Khān, one of Mīrzā Kamrān's amīrs

In triumph and glory and to the sound of music, the Emperor entered the 'Uqabain, with Mīrzā Hindāl in attendance and a splendid cavalcade He set up for himself tents and pavilions and an audience hall⁵ He gave Mīrzā Hindāl charge of the Mastan bridge,⁶ and stationed the amīrs one after another For seven months he kept up the blockade⁷ (69b)

It happened one day that Mīrza Kamrān went from his own quarters to the roof (? of the citadel), and that someone fired a gun from the Uqabain He ran and took himself off Then he gave this order about the Emperor Akbar 'Bring him and put him in front'⁸ Someone let his august Majesty (Humāyūn) know that Mīrzā Muhammad Akbar was being kept on the front, so he forbade the guns to be fired and after that none were aimed at the

¹ Son of Quch Beg, an amir who lost his life in trying to protect Bega Begam at Chausa

² From the citadel where the ladies were

³ The begam underrates Humāyūn's victory The struggle was fierce, renewed and stubborn

⁴ Doubtful translation

⁵ I think she merely wishes to say that Humāyūn camped out on the 'Uqūbain, and did not take up quarters under a roof

⁶ Under it flows the stream which issues from the defile of Dih-1 3a'qūb Cf *Ā'in*, Jarrett, I 404

⁷ Of the Bālā 1 ḥiṣār, the actual citadel

⁸ Gul badan's narrative does not support the story that Māham anaga exposed herself to save Akbar This person,—who later on became so important,—is nowhere named by the begam as in charge of Akbar Her husband, Nadīm kūka is so named

Bālā-i-hisāi Mīrzā Kāmārān's men used to fire from the town upon the Emperor on the 'Uqābain. The royal soldiers put Mīrzā 'Askarī to stand right in front and made fun of him.

Mīrzā Kāmārān's men also used to make sallies from the fort, and on both sides many were killed. The royal troops were often the victors and then the others had not courage to come out. For the sake of his wives and children and the begams and the household, etc., the Emperor did not have the cannon fired nor did he place the large houses in difficulty (70a)

When the long siege was ended, they (*i.e.*, the ladies) sent Khwāja Dost Khāwand *madārchi*¹ to his Majesty to say 'For God's sake, do whatever Mīrzā Kāmārān asks, and save the servants of God from molestation.'²

The Emperor sent for their use from outside nine sheep, seven flasks of rose-water, one of lemonade, and seven sets of nine dress-lengths³ and some made-up jackets.⁴ He wrote 'For their sakes, I could not use force against the citadel, lest I should give an advantage to their enemies.'⁵

During the siege Jahān Sultān Begam who was two years old, died. His Majesty wrote 'Some time or other, if we had used force against the citadel, Mīrzā Muhammad Akbar would have disappeared.'

To finish the story. There were always people in the Bālā-i-hisāi from evening prayer till dawn, and there was a continuous uproar. The night Mīrzā Kāmārān went away,⁶ prayer-time passed and indeed bedtime came, and there was no noise at all (70b)

There was a steep stair by which people came up from

¹ Follower of the Musalmān saint Madūr

² This message seems one from the imprisoned ladies. The khwāja to whom it was entrusted may now, as in the earlier siege of Kābul, have been Kāmārān's envoy to Humāyun.

³ *pūrcha* and *nīmcha dokhta*. There seems between these words an apposition which I render by the Englishwoman's colloquial terms

⁴ Presumably to some kinsman or official to whom the gifts were consigned.

⁵ *i.e.*, by injuring the royal household.

⁶ April 27th, 1547 (Rabi' I 7th, 954H)

below When all the city was asleep, there suddenly sounded (on the stair) a clashing and clinking of armour, so that we said to one another 'What a noise!' Perhaps a thousand people were standing in front (of the fort) We were afraid, but all at once, without warning, off they went Qarācha Khān's son Bahādur brought us word that the mīrzā had fled ¹

Having thrown a rope, they (or he) brought up Khwāja Mu'azzam by way of the wall ²

Our people and the begam's people and the rest who were outside, took away the door which had kept us fastened in Bega Begam urged 'Let us go to our own houses' I said 'Have a little patience We should have to go by the lane and perhaps too someone will come from the Emperor' At that moment 'Ambar Nāzır came and said 'This is the royal order "They are not to leave that place till I come"' In a little while the Emperor came and embraced Dīl dār Begam and me, and then Bega Begam and Hamīda-bīnū Begam, and said 'Come quickly out of this place (71a) God preserve His friends from such a house, and let such be the portion of His foes' He said to Nāzır 'Guard one side,' and to Tardı Beg Khān 'Guard the other, and let the begams pass out' All came out, and we spent the evening of that day with the Emperor in perfect content till night became morning We embraced Māh-chūchak Begam and Khmīsh *āghā* and those of the *haram* who had been with the Emperor on the campaign

In Badakhshān Mah-chūchak had a daughter born On the same night the Emperor had this dream 'Fakhru-n-nisā', my *māma*,³ and Daulat-bakht came in by the door,

¹ Nizāmu d dīn Ahmad says that Kāmran escaped by a hole fashioned for the purpose in the wall on Khizr Khwāja's side This suggests that Gulbadan's husband connived at the evasion, unless one remembers that Khizr Khwāja is a place outside Kābul

² I do not understand this sentence Either the followers of Kāmran drew the khwāja up into the fort-precincts to take him with them, he having displeased Humāyūn and being nearly connected with him, or the ladies had him drawn up He was, it seems, not a prisoner (67b)

³ Fakhru n nisā', the mother of Nādīm *khān*, would seem from this to have been Humāyūn's own attendant in childhood

and brought something or other, and then left me alone' Consider it as he might, he could only ask 'What does this dream mean?' Then it occurred to him that, as a daughter had just been born, he would call her after the two, and taking *nīsā'* from one, and *bakht* from the other, would run them together into *Bakht-nīsā'*

Māh-chūchak had four daughters¹ and two sons,—Bakht-nīsā' Begam, and Sakīna-bānū Begam, and Amīna-bānū Begam, and Muhammad Hakīm Mīrzā, and Farrukh-fāl Mīrzā (71b) She was with child when the Emperor went to Hindūstān (1554), and bore a son, in Kābul, whom they named Farrukh-fāl Mīrzā A little later Khānīsh āghā had a son whom they named Ibrāhīm Sultān Mīzā

'The Emperor spent a full year and a half in Kābul, prosperously and happily, and in comfort and sociability²

After taking flight from Kābul, Mīzā Kāmran went to Badakhshān, and there stayed in Tāliqān One day the Emperor was in the Inner Garden,³ and when he rose at dawn for prayers, news came that many of the amirs who formerly were with the mīrzā, had gone to him again Amongst them were Qarācha Khān and Musāhib Khān, and Mubārīz Khān and Bāpūs⁴ Many wretches fled by night and went to join the mīzā in Badakhshān

In a propitious hour the Emperor also started for Badakhshān He besieged the mīrzā in Tāliqān, and after a time made him agree to submit and become obedient (72a) when he waited on the Emperor, who bestowed Kulāb on him, and gave Qila'-i-zafar to Mīzā Sulaimān, Qandahār (sic, (?) Kunduz) to Mīrzā Hindāl, and Tāliqān to Mīrzā 'Askarī

¹ Gul badan does not name Fakhru n nīsā' who became the wife of Shāh 'Abū'l ma'ālī and of Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī Perhaps she is Bakht nīsā'

² From 1547, but a term of one and a half years does not quite fit the facts Humāyūn started for the north on June 12th, 1548 (B & H., II. 352)

³ *ōrta-bāgh*

⁴ Perhaps it may be taken as an indication of the degradation of 'home life' that Qarācha and Bāpūs again joined Kāmran, although the latter had exposed Qarācha's son and a wife of Bāpūs on the battle ments, with the utmost dishonour, and had killed three of the latter's children and flung their bodies from the ramparts

how then, should I seek the hurt of my brothers? May God grant to you all the same divine and beneficent guidance, so that our agreement and concord may endure' (73a)

There was wonderful cheerfulness and happiness because many officers and their followers met their relations again, for they too had been sundered because of their masters' quarrels. Nay! one might rather say they had thirsted for one another's blood. Now they passed their time in complete happiness.

On his return from Badakhshān the Emperor spent a year and a half in Kābul and then resolved to go to Balkh. He took up his quarters in the Heart expanding Garden,¹ and his own residence was over against the lower part of the garden, and the begams were in Qulī Beg's house because it was close by.

The begams said to the Emperor over and over again 'Oh, how the *rūwā*?² will be coming up!' He replied

¹ i.e., moved out of the city as a preliminary to marching.

² The following account of this plant is taken from Conolly's Travels, I, 213 n. It is translated by him from the *Malhār-nu l-adu'ya* (Treasury of Medicines). '*Ribās, rūwā, rūwaj* or *jigārī* (so named from a person of Nishāpūr who first discovered it) is a shrub two or three feet high, in appearance like beet (*salij*). In the middle are one or two short stems of little thickness, the leaves, which separate lengthwise like those of a lettuce, are downy and green, but towards the root, of a violet or whitish colour. The heart is white, delicate, juicy, acidulous and slightly astringent. Altogether the stalk is the size of a man's arm and when the plant is large every leaf has the size of a man's hand. Ardshir was named *Rūwand dard* (rhubarb hand) from the length of his hands. The root is called *rūwand* (rhubarb). The top is like the claw of a fox. The flower is red, and the taste is subacid with a little sweetness. The seed is formed at the top of a long slender stalk which springs up annually in the centre of the plant. It grows where snow lies and in mountainous countries. The best grows in Persia. It is medicinally attenuating and astringent, gives tone to the stomach, and improves the appetite. A collyrium of the juice strengthens the eye and prevents opacity, and a poultice of it with barley meal is a useful application to sores and boils. The juice of the *rūwā* is harsher than that of unripe grapes.' For mention of the name *rūwaj* see *Tabaqat al-abarī*, Lucknow lith. ed., 215, *Tūzūl al-jahāngīrī*, 17. Vullers, 81, etc. Mr. Ismail writes (Mems, 158 n.) 'It is described as somewhat like beetroot, but much larger, red and white in colour, with large leaves that rise little from the ground. It is a pleasant mixture of sweet and acid. It may be the rhubarb, *rūwand*'.

royal tents nor the pavilions of the *begams* had arrived, but the *mīhr-amez*¹ tent had come. We all, his Majesty and all of us, and Hamīda-bānū Begam sat in that tent till three hours past midnight and then we went to sleep where we were, in company with that altar of truth (Humāyūn)

Early next morning he wished to go and see the *rīwāj* on the Kōh. The begams' horses were in the village, so the starting-time passed before they came up. The Emperor ordered that the horses of everyone who was outside should be brought. When they came he gave the order 'Mount'

Bega Begam and Māh-chūchak Begam were still putting on their head-to-foot dresses, and I said to the Emperor 'If you think well, I will go and fetch them' 'Go,' he answered, 'and bring them quickly' I said to the begams and to Māh-chūchak Begam and the rest of the ladies 'I have become the slave of his Majesty's wishes. What trouble waiting gives!' I was gathering them all together and bringing them when he came to meet me and said 'Gul-badan' the proper hour for starting has gone by (83b) It would be hot the whole way. God willing, we will go after offering the afternoon prayer' He seated himself in a tent with Hamīda-bānū Begam². After afternoon prayers, there was the interval between two prayers before the horses arrived. In this interval he went away³.

Everywhere in the Dāman-i-kōh the *rīwāj* had put up its leaves. We went to the skirts of the hills and when it was evening, we walked about. Tents and pavilions were pitched on the spot and there his Majesty came and stayed. Here too we passed the nights together in sociable talk, and were all in company of that altar of truth.

In the morning at prayer-time, he went away to a

¹ Perhaps a tent of Humāyūn's invention, in the name of which *mīhr* means *sun*. Cf. 'another of his (Humāyūn's) inventions was a tent which had twelve divisions, corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac. Every sign had a lattice through which the lights of the stars of dominion shone' (*Akbar nāma*, H. Beveridge I 861).

² Perhaps, a tent of Hamīda having come, he seated himself in it.

³ (?) the start was made to see the *rīwāj*.

distance (*bī ūn*), and from there wrote separate letters to Bega Begam and to Hamīda bānū Begam and to Māh-chūchak Begam and to me and to all the begams,¹ saying 'Becoming spokeswoman of your own fault, write apologizing for the trouble you have given God willing, I shall say farewell and go to join the army either at Farza or Istālīf, and if not we shall travel apart' (74a)

Then everyone wrote to apologize for having given trouble, and sent the letter for his holy and elevating service

In the end his Majesty and all the begams mounted and rode by Lamghān to Bihzādī At night each one went to her own quarters, and in the morning they ate (? alone), and at mid-day prayer-time rode to Farza

Hamīda-bānū Begam sent nine sheep to the quarters of each one of us Bibī Daulat-bakht had come one day earlier to Farza and had got ready plenty of provisions and milk and curds and syrup and sherbet and so on We spent that evening in amusement In the early morning (we went) above Farza to where there is a beautiful waterfall Then his Majesty went to Istālīf and passed three days, and then in 958H² marched towards Balkh

When he crossed the pass, he sent *farman*s to summon Mīzā Kāmrān and Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīzā 'Askarī, and said 'We are on the march to fight the Uzbegs, now is the time for union and brotherliness You ought to come as quickly as possible' Mīzā Sulaimān and Mīzā 'Askarī came and joined him (74b) Then march by march they came to Balkh

In Balkh was Pīr Muhammad Khān,³ and on the first

¹ Humāyūn's comprehensive displeasure looks like a fit of temper directed against every and any one It is possible, however, that a page which might describe other untoward matters besides unpunctuality, has been altogether lost The sentence which now continues the story, places all the ladies, deprived of their evening of talk and amusement, in chastened solitude

² B & H, II 368, has 956H. (1549), and other differences of detail

³ Son of Jānī Beg, and uncle of the famous 'Abdul lāh Khān *Uzbeg* He ruled till 974H (1566-67)

day his men sallied out and drew up in battle array. The royal army carried off the victory, and Pir Muhammad's men tasted defeat and returned to the city. By the next morning the khān had come to think 'The Chaghatai are strong, I cannot fight them. It would be better to get out and away.' Just then the royal officers joined in representing that the camp had become filthy, and that it would be well to move to a desert place (*dasht*). His Majesty ordered them to do so.

No sooner were hands laid on the baggage and pack-saddles, than others raised a clamour and some cried out 'We are not strong enough.' Since such was the Divine will, the royal army took the road without cause from a foe, without reason or motive¹. The news of their march reached the Uzbeks and amazed them. Try as the royal officers would, they produced not a scrap of effect. It could not be hindered: the royal army ran away (75a).

The Emperor waited a little, and when he saw that no one was left, he too had to go. Mīrzā 'Āskari and Mīrzā Hindāl, not having heard of the confusion, rode up to the camp. They found no one and saw that the Uzbeks had gone in pursuit, so they too took the road and made for Kunduz. After riding a little way, his Majesty stopped and said 'My brothers are not here yet: how can I go on?' He asked the officers and attendants whether anyone would bring him news of the princes. No one answered or went. Later on word came from the Mīrzā's people in Kunduz that they had heard of the disaster and did not know where the princes had gone. This letter upset the Emperor very much. Khizr Khwāja Khān said 'If you approve, I will bring news.' 'God's mercy on you!' rejoined his Majesty. 'May they have gone to Kunduz!' (75b).

Two days afterwards the khwāja, to the Emperor's great

¹ From other sources we learn that the royalists were anxious on two grounds, (1) as to the threatened arrival of an overwhelming Uzbek force from Bukhārā, and (2) lest Kāmran should again take Kābul and have their families at his mercy. The last was perhaps the dominant motive for the flight without a pursuer.

Instantly hands were laid on Begī āghā Bibī, condemned of fate to die, and she was torn in pieces. In consequence of this affair, Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīzā Ibrāhīm were displeased with Mīzā Kāmiān, or rather they became his enemies (76*b*). They wrote to the Emperor that Mīrzā Kāmiān wished to thwart him and that this could not be better seen than in his failure to go to Balkh with him.

After this the ^{Kāmārūn} Mīzā, in Kūlāb,¹ could not find, in his terror-stricken thoughts, any better remedy than to become a darvish. He sent his son, Abū'l-qāsim (Ibrāhīm) to Mīzā 'Askarī, and betook himself to Tāliqān with his daughter 'Āyisha (Sultān Begam), and said to his wife (Muhtarīma Khānam) 'Do you and your daughter follow me later. I will send for you to whatever place I settle on. Till then go and stay in Khost and Andai-āb.' The khānam was related to the Uzbek khāns, and some of her kinsfolk let the Uzbegs² know 'If you want booty, there are goods and men and women servants, take these, and let the lady go free, for if 'Āyisha Sultān Khānam's³ nephew hears to-morrow (that she has been hurt), he will certainly be very angry with you.' By a hundred plans and wiles, and with a hundred anxieties, and without her goods, she got free from the Uzbek bondage, and reached Khost and Andai-āb. Here she stayed.

When Mīzā Kāmiān heard of the royal disaster in Balkh, he said 'The Emperor is not so friendly to me as he was.' (77*a*). So he left Kūlāb, and went hither and thither.

At this time (1550) his Majesty came out from Kābul. When he reached the Qibchāq defile, he incautiously halted in a low-lying place, and Mīzā Kāmiān, coming from higher ground, aimed and equipped, poured down foes upon him.

did not dare even to make war without her consent. Perhaps Kāmārūn's devotion extended to the armed force she disposed of. It was clearly in Tarkhān Bega's eye.

¹ In Kūlāb were the kinsfolk of his wife, Māh Begam, sister of Haram Begam, daughter of Sultān Wais Qibchāq, and sister of Chakr 'Alī Khān.

² i.e., across whose country she had to travel.

³ (?) Mughal Khānam.

Either at Chāikārān or Qarā-bāgh there was fighting with Mīrzā Kāmārān and his Majesty's army was successful. The mīrzā fled to the mountain passes (*tanqayhā*) and Lamghānāt¹

Āq Sultān (Yasīn-daulat) who was the mīzī's son-in-law, said in effect to him (*qūftā bāshad*) 'You are continually thwarting the Emperor. What is the meaning of it? It is not what should be (78a) Either make your submission and obeisance to the Emperor or give me leave to go, so that men may distinguish between us.' Mīrzā Kāmārān said fiercely 'Have my affairs come to such a pass that *you* offer me advice?' Āq Sultān also spoke angrily, 'If I stay with you, my position will be unlawful,' and left him at once, and went with his wife (Habiba) to Bhakkar. The mīzā wrote to Mīzā Shāh Husain, and said 'Āq Sultān has displeased me and has gone away. If he comes to Bhakkar, do not let his wife be with him. Part them and tell him to go where he likes.' Shāh Husain Mīzā at once, on receiving the letter, deprived Habiba Sultān Begam of the company of Āq Sultān and let him depart for the blessed Makka.²

In the fight at Chārikārān, Qaracha Khān³ and many of Mīrzā Kāmārān's well-known officers were killed.

'Āyisha Sultān Begam⁴ and Daulat-bakht *aghācha* were in flight for Qandahār, and were captured at the Khumār Pass, and brought in by the Emperor's people. Mīrzā Kāmārān went to the Afghāns,⁵ and stayed amongst them (78b)

From time to time his Majesty used to visit the orange-gardens. That year also, according to his old habit, he went to the mountain passes (*tanqayhā*) to see the oranges. Mīzā Hindāl was in attendance, and of the ladies (*haramān*),

¹ Nizāmu d dīn Alimad, 'mountains of Mandrud B & H, II 193, 'by the Pass of Bādaj towards the Afghān country

Kāmārān was the son in law of Mīr Shāh Husain *Arghūn*, and was therefore able to secure this interference with Āq Sultān's domestic affairs

² Cf Elliot, V 233

³ Kāmārān's daughter

⁴ i.e., Lamghān

earlier services in one scale and the service of this night in the other. God willing! whatever claim you can make, you shall be exalted to its degree.¹ One by one he allotted their posts, and then called for his own cuirass and surtout, and high cap and helmet.

His wardrobe-keeper had lifted up the wallet when someone sneezed,² and he set it down for a while. Because of this delay, the *mīrzā* sent to hurry him. Then the things were brought quickly, and he asked 'Why were you so long?' The man replied 'I had lifted the wallet when someone sneezed, and I therefore put it down. So there was a delay' (80a).

The *mīrzā* replied 'You were wrong. (You should have) said rather "May there be a blessed martyrdom"'. Then he went on 'Friends all! be my witness that I abjure all forbidden things and all indecorous acts'. Those present recited the *fātiha* and prayed 'May there be benediction'. He said 'Bring my vest and cuirass and surtout'. He put them on and went out to the trenches to encourage and solace his men. Just then his *ṭabaqchī*,³ hearing his voice, cried 'They are attacking me'. The *mīrzā*, hearing this, dismounted and said 'Friends, it is far from brave to give no help when my servant is at the point of the sword'. He himself went down into the trench but not one of his followers dismounted. Twice he sallied from the trenches, and in this endeavour became a martyr.

I do not know what pitiless oppressor slew that harmless youth⁴ with his tyrant sword! Would to Heaven that

¹ Perhaps the notion of this sentence is, 'To night's service will equal or outweigh previous services, and the lower to night's scale is forced, the greater will be my largesse'.

² It is hardly necessary to say that sneezing is by many nations regarded as an omen of other things than catarrh.

³ Clerk of the scullery who has charge of plates and dishes, utensils which are often of value by material and by workmanship.

⁴ Hindāl was killed on Zī'l qā'dār 21st, 958H (November 20th, 1551). He was born before March 4th, 1519 (Mems, 258), and was therefore in his thirty-third year.

Gul badān always speaks of her brother with affection, and her story

merciless sword had touched my heart and eyes, O Sa ādat-yār, my son's, O Khizr Khwāja Khān's! Alas! a hundred regrets! Alas! a thousand times alas! (sob)

HEMISTICH

O well a day! O well a day! O well a day!
My sun is sunk behind a cloud

All may be said in a word Mīrzā Hindāl gave his life freely for his sovereign

Mīr Bābā Dost lifted him up and carried him to his quarters He told no one, and fetched servants and placed them at the entrance and gave orders 'Tell everyone who asks, that the mīrzā is badly wounded and that the Emperor forbids anyone to enter'

Then he went and said to his Majesty 'Mīrzā Hindāl is wounded' The Emperor called for a horse, 'I will go and see him' Mīr 'Abdu-l-haī said 'He is badly hurt It is not desirable that you should go' He understood, and however much he tried,¹ he could not help it, he broke down

Jūi shāhī² was Khizr Khwāja Khān's *jadgīr* The Emperor sent for him and said 'Take Mīrzā Hindāl to Jūi shāhī and care for his burial' The khān took the camel's bridle,³ and when he was going away with weeping and lament and voice uplifted in grief, (sic) his Majesty heard of the mourning and sent him word 'We must have patience' This sorrow touches my heart more closely than yours, but I do not give way because I think of our bloodthirsty, tyrannical foe With him at hand, there is no help but patience' Then the khān with a hundred regrets, miserable and stricken, conveyed the body to Jūi shāhī, and there laid and left it

If that slayer of a brother, that stranger's friend, the

shows that she mourned his loss many years Her book lets us see a group of living and feeling men and women

¹ *haf. kardand* Perhaps as a matter of etiquette which demands composure in public

Text, Jūstīhī, the modern Jalālābād, on the road to Kābul

³ i.e. that of the camel which bore the corpse

monster, Mīrzā Kāmran had not come that night, this calamity would not have descended from the heavens

His Majesty sent letters to his sisters in Kābul, and the city at once became like one house of mourning. Doors and walls wept and bewailed the death of the happy, martyred mīrzā

Gul-chihā Begam had gone to Qarā Khān's house. When she came back, it was like the day of resurrection.¹ Though weeping and sorrow she fell quite ill and went out of her mind.

It was by Mīrzā Kāmran's evil fate that Mīrza Hindāl became a martyr. From that time forth we never heard that his affairs prospered. On the contrary, they waned day by day and came to naught and perished (sib). He set his face to evil in such fashion that fortune never befriended him again nor gave him happiness. It was as though Mīrzā Hindāl had been the life, or rather the light-giving eye of Mīrzā Kāmran, for after that same defeat he fled straight away to Salīm Shāh, the son of Shīr Khān. Salīm Shāh gave him a thousand *rupīs*.² Then the mīrzā told in what position he was, and asked help. Salīm Shāh said nothing openly in reply, but in private he remarked 'How can a man be helped who killed his own brother, Mīrzā Hindāl? It is best to destroy him and bring him to naught.' Mīrzā Kāmran heard of this opinion and one night, without even consulting his people, he resolved on flight and got away, and his own men had not even a word of it. They stayed behind and when news of the flight reached Salīm Shāh, he imprisoned many of them.

Mīrzā Kāmran had gone as far as Bhīra and Khūsh-āb when Adam Ghakkar, by plot and stratagems, captured him and brought him to the Emperor (82a)

To be brief, all the assembled khāns and sultāns, and high and low, and plebeian and noble, and soldiers and the

¹ Khwānd amīr compares a hustle of people to the day of resurrection

² A scornful measure of Kāmran's fall. The date is the end both of 1552 and of 959H

APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE WOMEN MENTIONED BY BĀBAR, GUL BADAN, AND HAIDAR ¹

I Āfāq (Āpāq) Begam

Princess of the Universe, Ar *āfāq*, four quarters,
universe, etc

She is mentioned, without clue to her parentage, by Bābar, as a wife of Sultān Husain Mirzā *Bāyqā*. He mentions her again, with others of the mirzā's widows, as seen in Harāt in 912H (1506-7), and here his wording, both in the Turkī and the Persian texts, allows the inference that she is a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id *Mīrān-shāhī*. Mr Erskine translates the passage thus 'Pāyanda Sultān Begam, my father's sister, Khadīja Begam and the other (Turkī, *yena*, Pers, *dīgar*) daughters of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mirzā'.

When greeting the ladies, Bābar gave Āfāq precedence over Khadīja, and notes the fact Khadīja was not a woman of birth.

Husain *Bāyqā* married three daughters of Abū-sa'id, Shahr-bānū, Pāyanda, and Āfāq. The last bore him no child, but she reared and educated nine children of his by her own foster-sister, Bābā *āghācha*.

Early in 932H (1525) she went from Harāt to Kābul and was received by Bābar (before his departure for India in November, 1525) with all possible respect and kindness. He gives the impression that

¹ This Appendix makes no pretence at completeness. It contains the gatherings in of work on Gul badan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma*.

she was an affectionate and devoted woman, and says that her tender care of her husband in illness surpassed that of all the other ladies of the *haram*

News of her death reached Bābar when he was besieging Chandīnī in 934H (January, 1528)

Mems, 182, 188, 204

II Āfāq Begam (No 26)¹

She was a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam, her father's name has not yet come to my knowledge, she was a grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīzā

Bābar mentions the arrival of a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam in Āgīa in 935H (October, 1528), and Gul-badan supplies the name Āfāq by naming an Āfāq of this parentage as at the Mystic Feast in 938H (1531)

Gul badan Persian text, 25b
Mems, 387

(*Afghānī aghācha*, the Afghān lady See Mubārīka Bibī)

III Afroz-bānū Begam (No 33) ^{to be changed to Bāghū}

Pers *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating, and *bānū*, (?) a form of *bān* (*vān*), which in composition means holding, possessing Also a prince or chief

Nothing is said to identify her She was at the Mystic Feast (1531)

Gul badan, 25b

IV Āghā Begam (No 34)

Turkī, *āghā*, a title of honour, and Ar *sultān*, sway, pre eminence Steingass classes the word *āghā* as Persian It may be *āla*, lady The dictionaries do not apply it to women.

Mentioned as at the Mystic Feast in 1531 She may be *Bāyqā* (*infia*)

Gul badan, 25b

¹ Numbers so entered are those of Gul badan's guest-list, 21b et seq

V Āghā Begam Bāyqā

She was a daughter of Sultān Husain Mirzā Bāyqā and of Pāyanda Sultān Begam Mīrān shāhī Her descent being so high through both parents, her name *Āghā* rises above its frequent application to wives of less degree Here it may have the meaning of *chief* or *great* She married her cousin Murād who was a son of Rābī'a-sultān Begam (Bedka) The *Habību-s-siyār*, 927 *et seq* (11th ed), states that she died before she reached maturity, but this does not agree with Bābāi's statements The *Habīb* places her death earlier than 912H (1506)

Mems, 181

Habību s siyār, 11th ed, 927 *et seq*

VI Āghā kūka (No 78)

Wife of Mun'im Khān, at Hindāl's Feast (1537)

Gul badan, 26a

VII Āghā-sultān āghācha (No 37)

(?) The lady of chief honour

She was a wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā (died 1494), and mother of Yādgar Sultān Begam (Bābāi's half-sister) She was present at Hindāl's marriage feast (1537), and probably at the Mystic Feast, in 1531 She is classed amongst 'our begams'

Gul badan, 25b

Mems, 10, 14

VIII Āghā-sultān Sultānam Duqlāt

She was a daughter of Muhammad Haider Mirzā Duqlāt, and therefore aunt of the author of the *Tārīkh-i-īshādī* She married 'Abdu-l-qadūs Beg Duqlāt in Kīshghar, after 877H (1472-73) Her husband was alive in 900H (1494-95), and was governor of Khost for Sultān Mahmūd Mirzā Mīrān-shāhī

Mems, 27

Tār Rash, E and R, 95, 103

IX Āī Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*

Turkī, āī, moon Her name is not mentioned in the Memoirs, but is so by Ilminsky (Mems, 80, Ilminsky, 84, line 7 from foot)

She was the fourth daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīzā *Mīrānshāhī* and Khānzāda *Termizī* II, and wife of Jahāngīr Mīrzā, half-brother of Bābar She was betrothed in 901H (1495-96), married in 910H (1504-5), bore one daughter, and was widowed not later than 914H (1508-9)

Mems, 80, 128

Pavet de Courteille, I 57, 262

X Āka Begam *Bāyqā*

Āka is clearly a title, her personal name I have not found Her sister who is styled *Bedka*, appears to be named Rūbi'a sultān

Daughter of Mansūr Mīzā *Bāyqā* and Fīroza Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*, full and elder sister of Sultān Husām Mīzā Bābar states (Mems, 176, 177) that she married (his uncle) Sultān Ahmad Mirza, and had a son, Kīchak Mīzā (the young or small prince) But he does not mention her, either as *Āka* or otherwise, amongst Ahmad's wives (Mems, 22), and he says that Ahmad had two sons who died young Kīchak, however, lived to change his military occupations for literature

It is singular that a marriage of the oldest *Mīrān-shāhī* of his generation with the oldest *Bāyqā* gul should not have been entered in Ahmad's biographical notice

Mems, 22, 28, 176, 177

(Ālūsh—Anūsh—Begam, Ūlūs, q 1)

XI Amīna Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*

Ara, amīn, faithful

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak

Gul badan, 71a

XV 'Aqīqa ('Afifa) Begam *Mīr ān-shāhī* (No 47)

Her name may be 'Aqīqa, a cornelian, etc, or 'Afifa, a chaste, modest woman Our begam's MS allows both readings I have used the first but the second seems the more appropriate in sense

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Bega and second child of both parents She was born in Āgra in 1531 It is only from her aunt Gul-badan that anything is known of her She went to Guālīār with her mother in (?) 1534, she was at Hindāl's feast in 1537, and she was lost at Chausa on June 27th, 1539

Gul badan, 22a, 23b, 25, 33b, 34b

XVI *Ātūn māmā* (No 38)

An *ātūn* is a teacher of reading, writing, and embroidery, etc *Māmā* seems to be the title of old women servants

Bābar mentions an *ātūn* in 1501 He met her at Pashāghar whither she had come on foot from Samarqand and where she again joined her old mistress, Bābar's mother, Qutluq-nigār Khānam She had been left behind in the city after Shaibānī's capture of it because there was no horse for her to ride

Gul-badan mentions an *ātūn māmā* as at Hindāl's wedding feast, and as *māmā* seems to be used for old servants, it is possible that she is the woman mentioned by Bābar

Gul badan, 26a
Mems, 99

XVII 'Āyisha-sultān Begam *Bāyqīā* (No 9)

Ar 'aish, joy, and *sultān*, sway, pre eminence Cf App s n Daulat

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrza *Bāyqīā* and Zobaida *aghācha* of the Shaibān sultāns 'Āyisha married, (1) Qāsīm Sultān *Uzbek*, a Shaibān sultān, and by him became the mother of Qāsīm Husain Sultān *Uzbek*, an amīr of Bābar and Humāyūn, (2) by *yanga-lkh* (cf App s n Jāmal), Būran Sultān,

badan meant this note as to parentage to apply to both begams (Nos 11 and 12) (Cf App s n Sultānan)

Gul badan, 6b, 24b

Mems, 22, 78, 90

XIX Āyisha sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī

Daughter of Kāmīrān Mīrẓā

Fīrishta (lith ed, 241) and Khāfī Khān (I 122) say that Kāmīrān left one son and three daughters

The son is called Ibrāhīm by Gul-badan, and in the early part of the *Akbar-nāma* (*Bib Ind*, ed, I 226) Later the A N and other sources call him Abū'l qāsim, which may be a hyonymic (*lunyat*)

As to the three guls, Fīrishta, without naming them, gives the information that

No 1 married (a) Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrẓā (*Bāygrā*)

No 2 „ (b) Mīrẓā 'Abdu-r-rahman *Mughal*

No 3 „ (c) Fakhru d dīn *Mashhadī* who died in 986H or 987H (No 88 of Blochmann's list *Āin-i-akbarī*, p 406)

Khāfī Khān's information coincides with Fīrishta's verbally as to No 3, and actually as to No 1 and No 2 For Ibrāhīm can be described as a son of a 'paternal uncle,' if these words are used in the wide sense given to them by contemporary writers So, too, can 'Abdu-r-rahman, if he be No 183 of Blochmann's list—a Dughlāt Mughal and cousin of Mīrẓā Haidar

If we take the girls' names from other sources we can (conjecturally in part) fill up the table

1 Gul-rukh is known in history as the wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrẓā *Bāygrā*

2 Kāmīrān's eldest daughter, Hābība, was forcibly parted from her husband, Āq Sultan, in about 1551-52, and this would allow re marriage to (b) or (c) Āq Sultan went to Makka from Sind 1551-52 (*cir*), and his name disappears thenceforth

3 'Āyisha may also have married (b) or (c)

In the list of the pilgrims of 983H (*A N Bib Ind*)

ed, III 145) are included 'Hājī and Gul-'īzār, *farzand-an* of Mirzā Kāmran¹ We have already the three names required by Firishta and Khāfi Khān, *ie*, Gul rukh, Habiba and 'Āyisha Gul-'īzār is 'superfluous' Perhaps *farzandān* may be read 'offspring,' and she may be a granddaughter Or Habiba or 'Āyisha may have predeceased Kāmran, and for this reason three girls only be specified by historians who wrote of the time of his death

Which one of the daughters was the Hājī Begam of 989H is not clear² It would seem that this was her second pilgrimage, since she is enrolled as Hājī before starting Kāmran's daughters may have gone—one or all—to Makka after his blinding and during the four years of his life there Of the three, Gul-rukh is the only one of whom it is on record that she was widowed in 983H, and therefore quite free to make the *Haj* Ibrāhīm Husain died in 981H (1573)

Hājī Begam was visited by Akbar and she died in 991H (1583)

Gul badan, 77a, 78a

Akbar nāma, III 145, 873, 875

XX 'Āyisha-sultān Khānam and Khātīm, Mughal Khānam,

Chaqhatāi Mughal

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Khān In 909H (1503) she, together with other ladies of her father's household, was captured by Shaibānī and was married by him She bore him a son, Muhammād-rahīm Sultān She wrote Turkī verses, and her name

¹ Mr Beveridge tells me that a MS *Akbar-nāma* belonging to the R A S has *wa* (and) before *farzandān*, but it does not seem practicable to read this

² Professor Blochmann (*Ā'in*, p 465, No 187) has (by a slip of reference numbering) confused Hājī Begam, daughter of Kāmran, with Hājī Begam, Bega Begam, widow of Humāyūn The latter died in 989H, before Gul badan's party returned Bega Begam went to Makka in 972H

appears in the biography of poetesses by Fakhrī *amīrī* Mūzā Haidar says that some of her children and of two other Mughal khānams (Daulat and Qūt-līq) who were forcibly married at the same time, were living and reigning in Transoxiana at the time of his writing the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. She is, I think, the 'Āyisha named by Gul-badan on 76b

Tār Rash, 160, 192, 198

Gul badan, 76b

Jawāhiru l 'aṣṣāib Fakhrī *amīrī* (Bodleian MS)

XXI Bābū āghā (Māmā āghā)

Professor Blochmann writes the name *Bābū*, but *Bābā*, darling, or *Bānū*, lady, would seem more appropriate for a Persian woman

She was the wife of Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān *Nishāpūrī*, and was related to Hamīda-bānū Begam *Jāmī*, Akbar's mother. Abū'l-faṣl calls her Māmā *āghā*. He says that she was a good woman, and that on her death Akbar went to her house and offered condolence because of her relationship to his mother.

Shihābu-d-dīn was *damād* of Māham *anaga*, and as *damād* is presumably used here in its more common sense of 'son-in-law,' Bābū *āghā* would seem to be a daughter of Māham *anaga*.

Akbar nāma, Bib. Ind. ed., III 716

Aīn-i akbarī, Blochmann, 888

XXII Bachaka Khatīfa

Gul badan, Bachaka, Mems, Bachaka, Ilmsky, Bīchkā Vambéry (*Chaghatāische Sprachstudien*) has an appropriate word, *becheh*, Chok (? Kokand), *zierrath*, ornament. The name is presumably Chaghatāi Turkī, as the bearer of it was an old family servant of a Farghāna household.

Bachaka was a head woman-servant (*khatīfa*) of Bābar's household, and was one of two women who escaped with his mother and him from Samarqand in 1501. There was a Bachaka whom Gul-badan calls a 'khatīfa of my royal father,' lost at Chausa

in 1539, and the two references may well be to the same woman.

Mem. 98
Gulbadan, 137
Hums. v. 110

XXIII Badi' al-Jamal Khamam Chaghatai Muqhal

The thousand of rare beauty. At Uzb. astonishing,
rare jewel beauty.

Daughter of Sayid Khan *Chaghatai Muqhal*, ruler of Kashghar and first cousin, once removed, of Babar. She married Baulsh Sultan of the Uzbek Kazaks. On her father's death her brother Rashid insisted upon her divorce, and then gave her in marriage to Muhammad *Barlas* whom Haider Mirza styles 'a peasant.'

Tarikh-i-Akbari, 133

XXIV Badi' al-Jamal Begam Miran-shahr (No. 2)

She was a daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'id Mirza *Miran-shahr*. She went to India during Babar's life, was at the double wedding of his daughters, and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Mem. 187
Gulbadan, 11a, 18b, 21b

XXV Bairam (Maryam) Sultan

Hums. v. calls her Bairam. Khwand amir, Maryam.
The Mem. give her no name.

She was the elder daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza *Bauqra* and Mingh-bi *aghacha Uzbek*. She married Sayyid Abdulhalik Mirza of Andikhud (a Timurid through his mother). She bore a son, Sayyid Birka, who served Babar.

Hums. v. 209
Mem. v. 181
Habibul-sayyar, 327 et seq.

XXVI Bakhshī-bānū Begam

Princess Good-fortune Pers *bakhsh*, fortune, and
bānū (*vān*), possessing

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and of Gūnwar Bībī, and was born in Jumāda I, 947H (September, 1540), the year of the Tīmūrīd exodus from India. She fell into the hands of her uncle 'Askarī with her father's camp and the baby Akbar in 1543. In 1545 she was sent with Akbar in the depth of winter from Qandahār to Kābul. In 957H (1550), and when ten years old, she was betrothed by her father to Ibrāhīm, son of Sulaimān and Haram. Ibrāhīm (b 1534) was six years older than Bakhshī-bānū, and he was killed in 1560, leaving her a widow of twenty. In the same year she was given in marriage by Akbar to Mīrzā Sharafud-dīn Husain *Ahrārī*.

Gul-badan, 39b
Akbar-nūma, s n

XXVII Bakhtu-n-nisā' Begam

Felicity of womanhood, Pers *bakht*, felicity, for
tune, and *nisā'*, woman.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, and was born in 957H (1550). Gul-badan says that she received her name in accordance with Humāyūn's interpretation of a dream. There is, however, ground for thinking that she and Fakhru-n-nisā', both mentioned in the histories as daughters of Māh-chūchak, are one and the same person. Gul-badan enumerates three daughters of Māh-chūchak, and says that there were four. It is her habit to state, in such matters, one more than she names. She mentions Bakht, but not Fakhr.

Of Bakhtu-n-nisā' it is recorded in the histories that she came from Kābul to India with her son Diwālī, after the death of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, her brother (993H — 1584-85), and that she was concerned in a reconciliation effected by Salīma-sultān Begam between Akbar and Salīm.

Of Fakhru-n-nisā it is recorded that she married Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī *Termezī* and Khwāja Hasan *Naqsh-bandī*

Gul badan, 71a

Khūfī Khān (*Bib Ind ed*), I 226

Badāyunī, Lowe, 72

Al bar nāma, s n

Aīn i akbarī, Blochmann, 322

XXVIII Bakht-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī (No 4)

Daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and mother of Āfāq (No 26) She went to India shortly after its conquest by Bābar, and was at the Mystic Feast

Mems, 887

Gul badan, 11a, 24b, 25b

XXIX Barlās Begam (No 36)

There is no clue given by which to identify this lady Others who were, like herself, at the Mystic Feast might, by tribal descent, be styled *Barlās*

Gul badan, 25b

(Bedka, Rabī'a, q i)

XXX Bega āqhā

Bega is perhaps not a personal name It appears to be a feminine of *beg*, but its application is not always to the daughters of *begs*, as may be seen by the instances here given For a confusion of *bega* and *yanga* cf App s n Zamab

A messenger of Mīrzā Kāmran to Haram Begam

Gul badan, 75b

XXXI Bega Begam Bāyqarā

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqarā* and Pāyanda-sultān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*, full sister of Haidar *Bāyqarā*, first cousin of Bābar, wife of Bābar

Mīnzā of Hājī Taikhān who was her first cousin and the son of Rabi'a-sultān (Bedka) *Bāyqā*

Khwānd-amīr says that she married 'Khwāja Mān-lānā' This may be a second marriage or a confusion with Kīchak, her sister

Mems, 177, 181

Habībū s sayūr, 327 *et seq*

XXXII Bega Begam and Bibī

The Empeior Jahāngīr, when in his Memoirs enumerating the gardens of Kābul, mentions one which belonged to Bega Begam, a widow of his father's grandfather, i e, Bābar Which of Bābar's wives is indicated by this title cannot be said with certainty

Jauhar has a story of Kāmran's want of consideration for 'Bega Begam,' in which the points useful here are that on the day in 1545 when Humāyūn took Kābul from Kāmran, he asked for food from Bega Begam, and he said of her that she was the very person who had brought Bābar's bones and laid them in Kābul

These two references of Jahāngīr and Jauhar are probably to the same lady Of Bābar's wives, Bibī Mubārika (*Afghānī āghācha*) appears to me the most suitable to the time and task

Bābar's body was still in its Āgra tomb in 1539 (Gul-badan, 34b) Māham was then dead, Dīl-dār's movements exclude her from consideration, Gul-rukh, if living, will have left Āgra with her son Kāmran before the Tīmūrīd exodus was enforced by defeat at Kanauj, Bibī Mubārika remains, the probable and appropriate agent for fulfilling Bābar's wish as to the final disposition of his body She lived into Akbar's reign, and her character and respected position in the household add to the sum of probability that she would discharge this duty

Bābar's body was not removed till after the *fitnat*, i e, the Tīmūrīd downfall and exodus Bega Begam,

or, as we may call her with Jauhar for the sake of clearness the Bibi must therefore have remained behind the rest of the royal family. This may have occurred in one of two natural ways. She might have stayed in Agra under the protection of one of the religious families and safeguarded by pious duty to Babar's tomb until Shur Khan gave permission to remove the body and a safe escort for her journey to his frontier or she may even have been in Bengal and at Chausa with Humayun, and, like Bega (*Haji*) Pagan, have been made captive. It would harmonize with Shur Khan's known actions if he had allowed Babar's widow to remove his bones, and if he had aided her pious task.

To be read in connection with

Humayun's Jauhar, Pers. text, vol. 9, 111 (November, 1910)

P. A. H. II. 20 n

XXXIII Bega Begam *Miran shahi* (No 15)

This Bega was a daughter of Mirza Ulugh Beg *Miran shahi* who was king of Kabul and known as *Kabul*. She was Babar's first cousin, and may be that daughter of her father who married Muhammad Mas'um Mirza *Baqra*. Gul badan styles her *ama*, paternal aunt, of Humayun, *and* *she* and he were first cousins, once removed. She was at the Mystic Feast in December, 1531.

Gul badan, 216

Mems. 180

XXXIV Bega Begam *Miran shahi* (? No 22 Bega Kulan Begam)

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza and Khanzuda II *Tarmuq*, wife of Haidar Mirza *Baqra* and mother of Shad Begam (No 28)

In 901H (1496) Sultan Husain *Baqra* was besieging Hissar which was held for Bega's brother Mas'ud,

and in which she was Husain became apprehensive about the spring rains and patched up a peace, the seal of which was Bega's marriage with his son Haidar, her first cousin through his mother, Pāyanda sultān. The betrothal took place outside the fort, with assistance of such music as could be procured, and later when the bride was taken to Harāt, the marriage was celebrated with the splendour loved by Husain and befitting a Timūrid alliance. Haidar was a full Timūrid, Bega was one on her father's side, and probably as a Termizī sayyida's daughter, drew through her also a strain of the same blood.

Haidar died before his father, 11, before 912H (April, 1506)

Mems., 30, 38 180

Gul badan, (?) 24b, No 22

XXXV Bega (Hāṭī) Begam (?) Begchik Muqhal (?) No 50)

She was a daughter of Uncle (*faqhāṭī*) Yādgār Beg who was, I think, a brother of Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, father of Kāmian's wife, Gul-rukh. Abū'l-fazl calls Bega Begam *dukhṭar-i-faqhāṭī u-uālida-i-Jannat-āshyānī*. Yādgār and 'Alī *Begchik* are both styled Mīrzā, but this elevation is due, it seems, to their alliances with the royal house. Haidar calls their brothers *mīrs*.

Bega married Humayun, her first cousin, and she was the wife of his youth. It is out of harmony with the custom of his house that his chief wife should be of less than royal descent. So far as I have been able to trace the matter, he never made an equal marriage. Gul-barg *Barlas*, 'Khalifa's' daughter, whose second husband he was, had best claim to high birth.

The first son, perhaps first child, of Bega and Humayun was Alamun, born 934H or 935H (1529) when his father was about twenty one and was in Badakhshan. Babar has commemorated his birth both by mentioning it and by preserving his own

congratulatory letter to the young father Al-amān died in infancy

Bega came to India after Bābar's death (December, 1530), and her second and last mentioned child, 'Afifa (Aqīqa) was born in 1531

In 1531 (*circa*) Gul-badan's story (29*b*, 30*b*) shows Bega as resenting neglect by Humāyūn who accepts invitations to his sisters quarters in camp in preference to hers and Gul barg's. Some impressions of this story make one question whether the Bega it tells of is Humāyūn's wife or another. But the circumstances that she is associated with a wife, Gul-barg, that Gul-badan does not speak of her as being other than the 'Bega Begam of the home circle, Humayun's allusions to the elder kinswomen, and the absence of the deference customary to an elder woman, seem sufficient justification for identifying the complaining Bega with the wife. (Gul-badan, it may be observed, mentions one other Bega Begam—*i e*, *Mīrān shāhī*, daughter of Ulugh Beg *Kabulī*.)

Bega was with Humayun during the idleness of his decadence in Bengal, and with her was her sister, the wife of Zahid Beg. Zahid offended Humāyūn, and Bega tried in vain to obtain his forgiveness.

She was captured at Chausa by Shīr Khān, and here she lost her little girl, 'Aqīqa. The historians all call her *Hajī Begam* in recording her capture, it is only Gul-badan who calls her Bega Begam. She was returned in safety to Humāyūn under the escort of Shīr Khān's best general, Khawās Khān. How soon she was returned I am not able to say. Support is to be found for the view that she was sent to Āgra directly after Humāyūn's arrival there, and also for the view that she was not returned to him until after a considerable time had elapsed. I do not know whether she went to Sind with the exiles or was sent later direct to Kābul. She was in Kabul with the royal family after 1545. She remained there with the

other ladies when Humāyūn made his expedition to recover Hindūstān, and she came with Hamīda, Gul-badan, and the rest to join Akbar in 964H (1557) After this she built her husband's tomb near Dīhli, and became its faithful attendant

Akbar is said to have been much attached to her, and she was to him like a second mother She went to Makka in 972H (1564-65), and returned three years later One thing raises the question whether this was her first pilgrimage, viz, the fact that all the sources, except Gul-badan's, call her *Hājī Begam* Why is she singled out to bear this title? It had been earned by many royal ladies before any one of the trio of great writers under Akbar had put pen to paper The same unexplained distinction is conferred by the histories on a daughter of Kāmran In both these cases a renewed pilgrimage might serve as the explanation of the distinction

Bega Begam died in 989H (1581), shortly before Gul-badan's return from Makka She had almost certainly passed her seventieth year, and was perhaps still older Abū'l-fazl says that her affairs were settled by one Qāsim 'Alī Khān He also records a visit of Akbar to her in her last illness, as well as an earlier visit of hers to him made from Dīhli in 981H

Gul badan, 22a, 23b, 29b, 30b, 78b, 83a

Mems, 888, 890

Akbar nāma, Bxb Ind ed, index, s n

Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 465 (Confusion has been made here with Kāmran's daughter)

Badāyūnī, Lowe, 308 n

History of the Afghāns, Dorn, I 108

XXXVI Bega Kīlān Begam (No 22)

She was at the Mystic Feast No clue is given to her identification The '*kīlān*' of her title indicates a pre-eminence which would suit Bega *Mīrān-shāhī*, daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā (Cf *supra*)

Gul badan, 24b

XXXVII Bega Sultān Begam Marī

Daughter of Sanjar Mirzā of Marv, first wife of Sultan Husam Mirzā *Bāuqrā* mother of Badī'u-z-zaman Mirzā. 'She was extremely cross tempered, and fretted the mirza beyond endurance, till, driven to extremities by her insufferable humour, he divorced her. What could he do? He was in the right

A bad wife in a good man's house,
Even in this world, makes a hell on earth

May the Almighty remove such a visitation from every good Moslim, and God grant that such a thing as an ill tempered, cross grained wife be not left in the world'

There is no later record of her

Mems., 181-182

XXXVIII Bega Sultan Begam Mirān-shāhī (No 13)

Daughter of Sultan Khalil Mirza *Mirān-shāhī*, grand daughter of Sultan Abu sa'id, first cousin of Babar

Gul badan, 21b

XXXIX Begam Sultan

Daughter of Shaikh Kamal. Died 915H (1538)

Beale's 'Oriental Biography, &c

(Begam Sultan, Sa'adat-bakht, q 1)

XL Begi Sultan aghacha

Inferior wife (*chāhar-shambūhī*) of Sultan Husam Mirzā *Bāuqrā*

Mems., 183

XLI Buwa Bogam

Mother of Sultan Ibrahim *Lōdī Atghān*. She attempted to poison Babar in December, 1526 (933H) in the manner which is told in most of the histories. The

Iqbāl-nāma adds the interesting detail that she was deported from India, and that on her enforced journey to Kābul she drowned herself in the Indus

Mems, 347
Gul badan, 19a

XLII Chūli Begam 1zūh

The Desert Princess, Pers *chūl*, desert. The Memoirs have *Jūli*, but the meaning of *chūli* (which looks like a sobriquet) suits the descent of the begam better than anything which can be extracted from *jūl*. Ilminsky writes *Jūli*, but for this the Mems are his possible warrant. B M Pers Or 10,623, f 123, l 7, has a clearly pointed *chūli*, also on f 124b

Chūli (Juli) Begam was a daughter of a beg of the Azāks, and married Sultān Husain Baygā before he conquered Khuāsān in 878H (1478). She was the mother of Sultānām, his eldest gul and her only child, and she died before 912H (1506)

Mems, 181, 182
Habibu s sayār, 327 et seq

XLIII Daulat bakht āghācha

(?) The lady of happy horoscope (*ba/ht*)

She may be the mother of Kāmran's daughter 'Āyisha, with whom she was in flight for Qandahār (Cf 'Āyisha)

Gul badan, 78b

XLIV Daulat-bakht Bibi (No 85)

She was clearly an active and working member of Humāyūn's household. She appeared to him in a dream (71a), and her name formed a part of Balhūn-nisā's. She went on before the main body of begams when they visited the waterfall at Farza, and saw to the commissariat. She is named as being at Hindāl's marriage feast

She may be the Daulat bakht *nabacha* of the preceding notice.

Gulistan 207 711 71a

XIV Daulat bitta (?) Irshon

As'ad found only a Turkish word meaning noble jewel. With it the name would be a mingled of Arabic and Turkish. To keep Daulat's title might be lost.

She was a servant in Mirza Muhammad Muqim *Irshon's* house and was an intermediary in effecting the elopement of her master's daughter Mah-chuchak *Irshon*, from Kidal. Mr. Erskine tells the story admirably.

P. VII, 1 48 *et seq.* and the source there referred to.

XV Daulat mir Khanam Chaqhatāi Mughal

Gulistan 211 *et seq.* the very image of felicity. Arabic *daulat* a title or name of a monarch.

Daughter of Isan-bai, his Khan *Chaqhatāi* wife of Muhammad Hardar Mir *Chaqhatāi*.

Turk. *Kutub* 1 11 88

XVH Daulat sultan Khanam Chaqhatāi Mughal

Arabic *daulat* fortune and *sultan* sway. In many proper names *sultan* does not appear to be a title, but rather to indicate the sway or dominance of the quality imputed by the first word of the name, e.g. *Isaf sultan* *Daulat sultan*. In giving these names one might suppose the prophetic notion to be that the first child should be a resplendent delight and the second a prevailing felicity.

Youngest child of Yunus Khan *Chaqhatāi* and Shah Begam *Badalshah* half sister of Babar's mother, wife by chance of battle, of Timur Sultan *Isbeg* mother by him of a daughter.

In 907H (1501-2) she was in Tashkand, and Qut-lu-q-nigar Khanam went to visit her after thirteen or fourteen years of separation. Babar dejected and an exile, joined the family party in the next year. In 909H (1503) Shaibani sacked Tashkand and forcibly married

Daulat-sultān to his son Tīmūr She bore him a daughter, and she remained in his *haram* until Bābar took possession of Samargand in 917H (1511), and she joined him She went south with him in 1513, and remained several years in Badakhshān with another nephew, Mīrzā (Wais) Khān who behaved to her like a son

Another nephew, Sa'id, her own brother Ahmad's son, then invited her, with costly gifts, to visit him in Kāshghar She made the long and difficult journey, joined him in Yarkand, and with him she spent the rest of her life

Bābar mentions that her foster-brother brought him news and letters from her in 925H (September 8th, 1519) In the same year Mansū, Sa'id's eldest brother, went to Kāshghar to visit her, his 'beloved aunt'

The Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* says that Mansū went so that by looking at her kind face his grief for the loss of his father might be mitigated The Bible Society's Turkī version reads 'Being prompted thereto by the extreme warmth of his affection for her' Both statements illumine her character The second seems the more appropriate, since the death of Sultān Ahmad Khān took place in 909H (1503) and Manşur's visit in 926H (1520)

There is no mention of her remarriage, and her story is that of an affectionate and leisured aunt

Mems, 14, 99, 105, 274

Tār Rash, E & R, 108, 117, 156, 160, 351, 352, 356

XLVIII Daulat-sultān (?) Sahany Begam

Sahany I cannot explain B M Add 24,090 (44b) has no points, and the word may be S k n gh B M, Or 187 (48a) has k m-n j or b k n j The Turkī (Bible Society's MS translations) has Daulat

Daughter of Amī Shaikh Nūru-d-dīn Qibchāq Mughal, governor of Turkistān, wife of Wais Khān Chaghatāi Mughal

Tār Rash, E & R, 64 and 64 n

XLIX Dil-dār Begam (No 48)

The Heart holding Princess, Pers *dil*, heart, and *dār*, holding

Neither her husband, Bābar nor her daughter, Gul-badan gives any clue to her parentage. Her marriage is not spoken of in the Memoirs, it, as well as Gul-rukh's, probably occurred in the missing decade of 1509-19. If Bābar held the view that four wives were a lawful number, Dil-dār, of whatever parentage, may be counted amongst them, since in 1509 Māham only remained of his earlier wives, 'Āyisha, Zamab, and Ma'sūma having disappeared from the household by death or divorce.

Dil-dār is mentioned once in the Turkī text of Kehr and Ilminsky, and then as *āghācha*. I am too ignorant of the import of this word in the domestic circle to venture to draw from its use an inference as to social status. It, however, as used by Bābar and by Gul-badan, supports Pavet de Courteille's definition of a 'lady' in contradistinction to a 'begam,' and does not convey reproach to the woman as its occasional English rendering (concubine) does.

The *Alkbar-nāma* (*Bib Ind* ed, II 62) makes use of the words 'Dil-dār *āghācha* Begam,' and adds *āghā* as a variant (*cf* App, s n *āghā*). Gul-badan always styles her mother begam, and sometimes *hazrat*. In enumerating her father's children and their mothers, she does not mention the parentage of any wife besides Ma'sūma *Mūān-shāhī*, a Tīmūrīd, but no deduction as to the lower birth of the others can be drawn safely from this, and there is some ground for supposing that Dil-dār was of *Mirān-shāhī* birth (*Cf infra*, p 277).

Perhaps some indication of non-royal birth is given by Māham's forcible adoption of Dil-dār's son in 1519, but I am too ignorant of the *nuances* of Muhammadan etiquette to venture on assertion or even on opinion in such a matter. That Māham did not take Gul-

rukḥ's¹ son tells nothing, since the chief factors in the adoption, i.e., Māham's loss of her own children and wish to adopt, may have become operative only when they were put into practice in 1519

Five children of Dil-dār are mentioned by Gul-badan Gul-rang, born between 1511 and 1515, Gul-chihra, Abū-n-nāsir Muhammad (Hindāl), born 1519, Gul-badan, born 1523, and Alwar, who died in India in 1529

She is very frequently written of by her daughter, some other authors give of her a clear and pleasant impression, and she is always spoken of with respect and as a good and sensible woman

Gul badan, 6b, 16a, 23a, 25b, 29b, 30a, 35a, 35b, 38a, 42a,
50b, 51b, 65a, 70b
Jauhar, Stewart, 80, 81
Ilminsky, 281
Albar nāma, Bib Ind ed., 8 n
B & H, II 164, 220, 302.

L Dil-shād Begam

The Heart rejoicing Princess, Pers *dil*, heart, and *shād*, rejoicing

Daughter of Shāh Begam and grand-daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam *Mirān-shāhī* Of her paternal descent nothing is recorded

Gul badan, 24b

LI Dūdū Bibī

Wife of Sultān Muhammad Shāh *Lohānī*, Afghān King of Bihār, mother of Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn, regent for her son in his minority from 1529

B & H, 8 n

LII Fakhr-jahān Begam *Mirān-shāhī* (No 1)

The world's ornament Ar *fakhr*, ornament, and Pers *jahān*, world

She was a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mirzā, a paternal aunt of Bābar, the wife of Mir 'Alā'u-l-mulk *Termizī*, and mother of Shāh and Kichak Begams

¹ For *erratum* in my Introduction as to Gul rukḥ, cf App 8 n.

She went to India in 1526, the first year of Bābar's occupation, with her sister Khadija, and stayed there nearly two years. She took leave of Bābar before starting on her return journey to Kābul on September 20th, 1528 (Muharram 5th, 935H). She was again in Āgra and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Gul badan, 11a, 24b

Mems, 374, 382

P de Courteille, II 458 (This is a fragment, supplied by Kehr and Ilminsky, which has the appearance of memorandum and which concerns a period already and variously written of in the *Bābar nāma* of Kehr and contained in the Memoirs of Mr Erskine)

Āīn i akbarī, Blochmann, 322

LIII Fakhru n-nisā'

The ornament of womanhood, Ar *fakhr*, ornament, and *nisā'*, woman

She was a daughter of Bābar and 'Āyisha-sultān, and his first child, born when he was nineteen. She died when about a month old.

Mems, 90

Gul badan, 6b

LIV Fakhru-n-nisā' anaga and māmā

Mother of Nadīm *kūka*, mother-in-law of his wife, Māham anaga

She and Nadīm are several times mentioned by Gul badan

Gul badan, 26a, 46a, 71a, 73b

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1899, art

Māham anaga H Beveridge

Ākbar nāma, Bib Ind ed., s n Nadīm

LV Fakhru-n-nisā' Begam Mīrān-shāhī (No 61)

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, sister of Muhammad Hakīm, wife (1) of Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī and (2) of Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī (Cf Bakhtu-n-nisā')

Ākbar nāma, Bib Ind ed., s n

Āīn i akbarī, Blochmann, s n

Badāyūnī, Lowe, 72

LVI Fātīma Sultān āghā

Ar *Fātīma*, a name given presumably in honour of the Prophet's daughter. The meaning of *sultān* here is not apparent. It does not seem as, *c q*, in *Daulat sultān*, safe to consider it as a part of a compound word, and to read *Fātīma sultān*. Nor from the bearer's parentage does it suit to take it as a title, implying that she is of the sultāns of her tribe.

There are points in the use of the word *sultān* which require fuller discussion than is practicable here. One *Fātīma Sultān* and her sister *Bairūm* (*Maryam*) were the children of *Husain Bāygrū* by an Uzbek servant of one of his royal wives. They are not given any further title, but their brothers are *mīrzās*.

Daughter of the chief of a Mughal *tumān* (10,000 men), first wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī*, mother of his second son, *Jahāngīr* who was two years the junior of *Bābār*.

Mems, 10, 14

LVII Fātīma Sultān ānāqā and Bibī (No 60)

Mother of *Raushan hāka* and of *Zuhā*, wife of *Khawāja Mu'azzam Bāyazīd biyāt* speaks of her as the *ōndū begī* of *Humāyūn's haram*, a title which *Blochmann* translates 'armed woman'.

She was at *Hindāl's* marriage feast, she helped to nurse *Humāyūn* in 1546, and was an envoy to *Haram Begam* for marriage negotiations, and she appears in *Akbar's* reign when her daughter is murdered.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art.
Memoirs of *Bāyazīd biyāt*, H. Beveridge

Tabaqāt-i akbarī, Elliot, V 291

Akbar-nāma Bib Ind ed, s n

Gulbadan, 26a

LVIII Fātīma Sultān Bāyqā

Daughter of *Sultān Husain Mīrzū Bāyqā* and of *Mīngli-bī āghācha Uzbek*, wife of *Yādgār Muhammad Mīrzā Shāh-rukhī* (died 875—1470 71). She was dead before 912H (May, 1506).

Mems, 182

Habību-s siyār, 327 et seq

LIX Fâtima Sultân Begam

A wife of Shîh Husain Beg *Irqlûn*, and mentioned
in the *Târih-i suid*

LX Fauq Begam (No 31)

Ar *fauq*, superiority, excellence
Gul badan, 25b

LXI Firoza Begam (No 35)

The princess of victory, Pers *fîroz*, victorious,
prosperous.
Gul badan, 25b

LXII Firoza Begam *Mirân shâhî*

She was a grand daughter of Timûr, and married
Mansur Mirza *Baqqrâ*. Their son Husain was there-
fore a double Timurid, fourth in descent through
Mansur and third through Firoza

Mems, 176

LXIII Gauhar-shâd Begam and *âqha, Turlomân*

The jewel of joy, Pers *gauhar*, jewel, and *shâd*,
joy, delight

Wife of Shah-rukh, son of Timûr, sister of Qarâ
Yûsuf *Turlomân*, founder of the Masjid which bears
her name in Mashhad, and, with her husband, of the
Bâgh-i zaghan (Ravens' Garden) at Harat. Bâbar saw
her tomb (dated 861H, 1457) and her mosque in 1506

Mems, 207

Northern Afghânistân, C L Yate, s n
Târ Rash, L & R, 83 n

LXIV Gauhar-shâd Begam *Dughlât*

Daughter of Muhammad *Dughlât Hîşarî*, wife of
Amir Yûr (*sic*), son of Amir Jan-wafâ, who was
darogha of Samarqand under Shaibânî in 906H
(1500) when Bâbar took the city, and who was an

intimate of Muhammad *Ḥiṣārī*, and saved his life by a warning word, as a reward for which Gauhar-shād was given in marriage to his son

Mems, 86, 88, 289

Tār Rash, E & R, 193

LXV Gauhar-shād Begam *Mū'ān-shāhī*. (No 5)

Daughter of Sultān Abū sa'īd Mīrzā and paternal aunt of Bābar. She was at the Mystic Feast

Mems, 887

Gul-badan, 11a, 24b

LXVI Gul-badan Begam *Mū'ān-shāhī* (No 46)

Cf Biographical Introduction and her own *Humā-yūn-nāma*

LXVII Gul-barg Begam *Barlās* (No 49)

The rose-leaf princess, Pers *barg*, leaf

Daughter of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Barlās*, Bābar's *Khalīfa*, niece, therefore, of Sultān Junaid *Barlās*, a brother-in-law of Bābar (*Cf* *Shahr-bānū*) She may be the child of that Sultānam who received Gul-badan at Kūl-jalālī (14a) She married, first, Mīr Shāh Husain *Aīghūn*, in 930H (1524) The alliance was not happy and a separation took place She appears to have remarried Humāyūn at some time before the defeat at Chausa (1539) She was with him subsequently in Sind, and from there went with Sultānam to Makka previous to 1543

She was buried in Dīhlī Mīr Ma'sūm writes of her death 'She entrusted her soul to the guardians of the hour of death, and the leaves (*gul-barg*) of the rose-bush of her life were dispersed by the boisterous wind of mortality'

Gul badan, 21a, 25b, 29b, 30b, 49b

Tārīkh-e-sind, Mīr Ma'sūm.

B & H, I 385

LXXI Gul-'izār Begam Mīrān-shāhī

The rosy cheeked princess, Pers *gul*, rose, and
'*izār*, cheek, face

Daughter of Bābar and Gul-rukh, full-sister of
Kāmrān and 'Askari

Gul-badan names no marriage for her, but she
may have been the wife of Yādgar-nāsir

Gul badan, 6b

Mems, 10

LXXII Gul-'izār Begam Mīrān-shāhī

Daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā, she accompanied Gul-
badan Begam to Makka (983H, October, 1575) (Cf
App s n 'Āyisha Mīrān-shāhī)

Akbar nūma, Bib Ind ed., III 145

LXXIII Gul-nār āghācha (No 57)

The red, red rose, Pers *gul*, rose, and *nār* (*anār*),
pomegranate, carnation red

She was of Bābar's *haram*, and may have been one
of the two Circassian (Cherkis) slaves (the other being
Nār-gul) who were presented to the Emperor by Shāh
Tahmāsp in 933H (1526)

She was at Hindāl's wedding-feast, and shared in
the conferences of Humāyūn and his family, and she
was one of Gul-badan Begam's pilgrim band (983H,
1575)

Gul badan, 25b, 30a, 35a, 38a

Mems, 847

Akbar nūma, Bib Ind ed., III. 145

LXXIV Gul-rang Begam Mīrān-shāhī (No 44)

The rose hued princess

Daughter of Bābar and Dil-dār and her mother's
first child She was born in Khost, probably between
1511 and 1515, during Bābar's exile from Kābul after
the Mughal rebellion She was given in marriage to
Isān-tīmūr *Chaghatāi* Mughal, her father's first cousin,
during the last days of her father's life and in 1530

Isān-tīmūr is last mentioned in 1513, and of Gulrang there is no certain record after ca 1531, when she was at Gualhār (23a) (Cf App 8 n Salma)

Gul badan, 6b, 16b, 18b, 23a, 25b, 29b

LXXX Gul rukh Begam (?) Beqchik Muqhal

The rose checked pinecess

Wife of Babar, mother of Kāmran, 'Askari, Shah rukh, Ahmad, and Gul-izur Outside Kabul there was in 1515 the tomb of Gul-rukh Begam (61b) This may well have been hers

She is perhaps a *Beqchik* This may be judged from the following notes

(1) Kāmran married a daughter of Sultan 'Alī Mirza *taqhat* ¹ (Mems, 388)

(2) Humayun married a daughter of Yadgar *taqhat* (Mems, 388)

Amongst contemporary *Beqchik* amirs are Sultan 'Alī Mirza and Yadgar Mirza

If one follows the recorded incidents of Sultān 'Alī's life, one sees that Gul rukh may be his sister

(a) In 914H (1508/9) he is ordered to drown Khalil Kīn (*Fur Rosh*, 183) Having done so, he took refuge with Babar in Samarkand (*Idr*, 265)

(b) In 917H (1511) he was with Sa'ad Muhtarzād

Khān who had reinforced Andijān under Bābar's orders, to Kāzan

(c) In 920H (1514) he accompanied Sa'id in his conquest of Kāshghar, and at this date is named amongst the Begchik amīrs of the Kāshghar army (l c , 308, 326)

(d) In 925H (1519) he waited on Bābar, and is styled *taḡhāi* of Kāmraṇ (Mems, 274) Bābar says here 'Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, the maternal uncle of Kāmraṇ (Ilminsky, 311, *Kāmraṇ-nīnak taḡhāi*), who in the year in which I passed over from Khost to Kābul had proceeded to Kāshghar, *as has been mentioned*,¹ waited on me here '

Bābar must several times have passed from Khost (Andar-āb) to Kābul The *Tārīkh-i-īshīdī* fixes the occasion here alluded to as in 920H (1514) This was Bābar's latest and last crossing of the northern passes to Kabul

By thus bringing the statements of the Memos and the *Tārīkh-i-īshīdī* together, Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā *Begchik* is fairly-well identified with Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, *taḡhāi* of Kāmraṇ '

(e) In 935H (1528) Kāmraṇ married his daughter (Mems , 388)

Mems , 274, 388

Tār Rash , 183, 248, 264, 265, 280, 303, 326

LXXVI Gul-iukh Begam Mīrān-shāhī

Daughter of Kāmraṇ Mīrzā , wife of Ibrāhīm Husaṇ Mīrzā *Bāyqā* , mother of Muzaḡḡar Husaṇ who married Sultān Khānam, Akbar's eldest daughter, and of Nūru-n-nisā' who became a wife of Salīm (the Emperor Jahāngīr)

¹ Something interesting as to the *Tūzūk-i-bābarī* (Turkī text of the Memoirs) may lie here The period of Sa'id's Kāshghar conquest falls in a gap of the *Tūzūk* Bābar referred to an incident of that time as having been already mentioned This suggests, as a cause of the gap, lost leaves, and not an omission of record (Cf *Tār Rash* , 247 n)

She was taken captive as a child by Shaibānī *Uzbek*, and she lived in his household until he gave her in marriage to his nephew, 'Ubaidu-l-lāh. Shortly before Shaibānī murdered her father (914H, 1508-9), 'Ubaidu-l-lāh asked for Haidar (*etat* 11) to come to him and Habiba in Bukhārā, and thus saved him from a general massacre of Mughal sultāns.

When 'Ubaidu-l-lāh retreated to Turkistān (*ca* 1511), Habiba remained in Bukhārā. She then joined her uncle Sayyid Muhammad *Dughlāt*, in Samargand, and with him went to Andījān where he married her to her cousin Sa'id. She reared one of Sa'id's children, Rashid whose mother was a 'tribeswoman,' Makhdūm *Qāluchī*, but he certainly did her training no credit. She was widowed in 939H (July 9th, 1533), so that Gul-badan may be wrong in saying that she was at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She may have been a wedding guest in 1537.

Tār Rash, E & R, 140, 192, 198, 206, 268, 451, 453
Gul badan, 24b

LXXXI *Hājī Begam Mīrān-shāhī*

She was a daughter of Kāmīān, and accompanied Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983H, but it is to be inferred that this was not the pilgrimage which gave her her title of *Hājī*, since she is so entered before the *haj* of 983H. (*Cf* XIX., 'Āyisha-sultān)

(*Hājī Begam, Bega, q v*)

(*Hājī Begam, Māh-chūchak Arghūn, q v*)

LXXXII *Hamīda-bānū*.

Ar *hamīda*, praised, laudable, and Pers *bānū*

Daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim. She died 984H (1576-77), and was buried at Andakhuī.

The above information is given by Captain Yate,

indefinite *khal*, maternal uncle, to describe the relation of Akbar and Mu'azzam

(5) *The Ma'āsiru l-umaiā'* confirms the identification by use of the words *barādar i-a'yānī*, full-brother. Its authority may not be of the best, but the choice of these words has some weight

(6) 'Alī-akbar was of the lineage of Ahmad Jāmī. Humāyun had a dream which allowed him to know that the son prophesied in it by Ahmad would be of the latter's lineage. There is, I think, nothing said on this point of Mīr Bābā Dost, but saintly descent was claimed for Hamīda's father

(7) Gul-badan gives one the impression (it is little more) that Mu'azzam was younger than Hamīda. He calls his sister *Mah-chīchām*, which may be read as 'Moon of my mother,' but also as 'Elder Moon-sister' (Cf 18b n). If he were Hamīda's junior, and as Mīr Bābā Dost was alive in 1540-41, he could not have been an independent agent in 1543-44

In opposition to the identification, there are two considerations

(1) A minor matter, two names are given by the sources. Mīr Bābā Dost and 'Alī-akbar

(2) The important fact that Abū'l-fazl calls Mu'azzam Hamīda's *ukhuwwat-i-akhayāfi*,¹ which, according to Lane, must be rendered 'uterine brother'

Was, then, the name Bābā Dost a sobriquet of Shaikh 'Alī-akbar?

Were Hamīda and Mu'azzam full brother and sister? Were they the children of one father and two mothers, or were they uterine brother and sister?

Shaikh 'Alī-akbar's name I have not found in any

¹ Steingass does not recognise the force of 'uterine,' since he renders *barādar-i-a'yānī* by 'uterine brother'

passage except the one dealing with Hamida's parentage. Mir Babi Dost may be the man so named by Ishtar (Mems., 262), and who was then with Humāyūn in the year of the birth of Hindal (1519). He may also have gone with Humāyūn, Hamida (? his own daughter) and Mu'azzam (? his son) to Persia, the *ḥiḥ* in the little party of exiles. He is mentioned by Abul-faḥl not only where already noted, but, we believe also amongst Hindal's servants who were transferred to Akbar in 1551 (958H).

Two men with the name Abulbar are mentioned under Akbar, but neither appears to be a *Jāmī*, or to warrant identification with Hamida's reputed father (cf. *Ḥusn-i-Blochmann*, pp. Abulbar).

Whether there was any relationship more close than that derived from common descent from Ahmad *Jāmī* between Miḥam Begam and Hamida I am not able to say.

Hamida was related to Bānu (Bābu) *dāhā* who was the wife of Shihābuddīn Ahmad *Nishāpūrī* and a relation of Miḥam *anānā* *Jānā* (*Hārū*) Begam also had claim to descent from Ahmad *Jāmī*, so that the joint posterity was numerous in Akbar's court, and included the Emperor himself.

To Gulbadan's account of the discussion which preceded Hamida's marriage, there may be added the following passage from the *Ṭaḥṭat-ul-luḡāt* of Ishtar (IO MS No. 221 and BM MS Add. No. 16,711, f. 82). After Humāyūn has asked whose daughter Hamida is, he is told, perhaps by Dil-dar, that she is of the line of his Reverence the Terrible Elephant, Ahmad *Jāmī*, and that her father, by way of blessing and benediction, has taught Mirza Hindal, and that for this reason Hamida is with the mirza's household.

The Persian (taken from the IO MS) is as follows: *Pudar i ṣhān do sih lalma ba jihat i-tabarruk*

*ua tayammun ba Mīnzā Hindāl sabq far mudand A.
ān jihat ba mā hamīdā and*

Eiskine (II 220) and Stewart (Jauhar, 31 n) both say that Hamīda was married at fourteen years of age. The incidents of her wedded life are set down in Gul-badan Begam's book and in the *Albar-nāma* and other sources, but having regard to her interesting personality, they may be enumerated here also.

She was married at Pāt early in 948H (summer, 1541), and remained in Sind until she made with Humāyūn the terrible desert journey to 'Umrkut where Akbar was born (October 15th, 1542). About the beginning of the following December she and her baby went into camp at Jūn, after travelling for ten or twelve days. In 1543 she made the perilous journey from Sind which had Qandahār for its goal, but in course of which Humāyūn had to take hasty flight from Shāl-mastān, 'through a desert and waterless waste'. She went with him, leaving her ^{little} son behind. She accompanied her husband to Persia,

and it is recorded that ^{at the} way and at Sistān, its governor brought his mother and his wives to entertain her. With Humāyūn she made, amongst other pious visitations, one to Jam where was their ancestor Ahmad's shrine. She was kindly treated by Shāh Tahmasp and by his sister, and Gul-badan's details of the Persian episode can hardly have been learned from anyone but Hamīda. In 1544, in camp at Sabz āwīr, a daughter was born. She returned from Persia with the army given to Humāyūn by Tahmāsp, and at Qandahār would meet Dīl dār and Hindāl, her former protectors.

It was not until November 15th, 1545 (Ramzan 10th, 952H) that she again saw her son, who recognised her. She had shortly after this to accept Māh-chūchak as a co-wife. In June, 1548, she and Akbar accompanied Humāyūn on his way to Tāhīqān as far as Gul-bihār, and thence returned to Kābul. This may

be the expedition made by the ladies and chronicled by Gul badan, to see the *rūaḡ*. When Humāyūn, in November, 1554, set out for Hindūstān, she remained in Kabul.

Bīyazīd *bayāt* mentions that at this time he fell under her displeasure, and was reproved because he had not cleared out a house for one of her servants. He pleaded the commands of Muḥsin Khān, and was forgiven. Early in the reign of Akbar, Khwaja Mirak, Nizām al-dīn's grandfather and who was her *duwān*, was hanged by Muḥsin Khān because he had sided with Mirza Sulaiman.

She rejoined her son in the second year of his reign (964H, 1557), together with Gul badan and other royal ladies. She is mentioned as in Dillī in the fifth year, and she had a part in the plot for deposing Bairam Khān. She was closely associated with Gul badan in Akbar's court and affection, together they interceded for Salim with his father, together they received gifts from the Emperor, and their tents were side by side in his encampments. Hamida was with Gul badan in the latter's last hours.

Abu'l faḡl says that when long fasts came to an end, the first dishes of dressed meat used to go to Akbar from his mother's house.

Hamida died in the autumn of 1601 (19th Shahrivār 1013H), sixty-three years after her wedding, and after almost fifty years of widowhood, passed as the proud mother of a great son. If she was fourteen in 1511, she must have been born in 1527 (*circa*), the year of Babar's victory at Khanwa, and have been some seventy-seven years old at the time of death.

Gul badan, 30a, 42a, 43b, 48a, 55a, 57b, 58a, 59b, 62b, 66a, 71a, 78b, 83a

Albar nama, Bib. Ind. ed., 8 n

Aīn i albarī. *Aīn*, 26, *Sufīyāna*, Blochmann, 61, 62

Tauhar, I c, Nizām al-dīn Ahmad, etc

Ma asiru lumarā. Bib. Ind. ed., I 618

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art. Bīyazīd *bīyāt*, II Beveridge, 16

LXXXIV Haram Begam Qibchāq Mughal

Princess of the *Haram* Her name has been transliterated by some European workers as *Khurram*, 'blossoming, cheerful,' and this seems the more probable name to bestow on a child But some of the Persian texts support *Haram*, and the editors of the *Bib Ind Akbar-nāma* have adopted it Gul badan has *Haram*

Haram Begam may be a sobriquet bestowed after the revelation of the facts of the bearer's character and dominance

Daughter of Sultān Waīs Kulabī Qibchāq Mughal, and sister of Chakī 'Alī and Haider Begs and of Māh Begam, a wife of Kāmran She married Sulaimān Mīrzā Mīran-shāhī, son of Khān Mīrzā (Waīs) She had one son, Ibīāhīm (Abū'l-qāsim), and several daughters Her children, through Shāh Begam Badakhshī, their paternal ancestress, claimed descent from Alexander the Great

Most of the incidents of her career are given in the Introduction to this book, and her remarkable character is exhibited there *Badāyunī* calls her *Walī-ni'amat*, and says she was known by this name This may be a tribute to her pre-eminence in character and action and also to the fact of her belonging to an older generation than Akbar's, under whom he wrote The elder men of royal birth were Lords and the elder women Ladies of Beneficence in those days

Gul badan, 65a, 75b
Akbar nāma, *Bib Ind* ed, s n
Badāyunī, Lowe, 61, 89, 90, 217
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art
Bāyazīd biyāt, H Beveridge, 12, 16
 B & H, s n
Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s n
 Introduction, *supra*

LXXXV Hazāra Begam

Princess of the tribe of the Hazāra This is a title, and not a personal name

She was the daughter of a brother of Khizr Khān *Hazāra* who was the chief of his tribe during the

struggles for supremacy of Humayun and Kāmran
She married Kāmran

61b3v4P

LXXXVI Husn-i-Mu'izzat Khanum Chaghatai Mughal

The name of beauty. Ar *Iran*, beauty, and Pers
r, Iran, r

Daughter of Isanbugha Chaghatai and niece of
Yunas Khān sister of Dost Muhammad and wife of
Abulghar Dughlat Mughal

7r1v1, 1v1 8191

LXXXVII Isan-daulat Khanum and Pegam Quchin Mughal

Her name is also written *Iran*. The *Babar-nama*,
Lahore MS. Or. Add. 20. 240 has a clearly
printed *Iran*. Humayun has *Iran* in *Iran*. An
early 16th c. MS. (d. M. Or. 714) has *Iran* and
Iran.

The *Memorials* have *Iran* in all but two instances
of 120 where it is used. But Mr. Liskine's
Lahore MS. (d. M. Add. 20. 200) which is presum-
ably his authority, can (I venture to think) after
comparing the word he renders *Iran* with those he
renders *Iran* and *Iran* in all places. Where he
reads *Iran* (pp. 10 and 11) the *Iran* is not dotted
the letters clearly correspond with those where it is
dotted, and where he reads *Iran*.

The *Iran-i-Akbari* (B. M. Or. 157) writes *Iran*.
The weight of authority is in favour of *Iran*.

Isan-daulat was Babar's maternal grandmother and
a daughter of Mir Shih-ab Beg *Quchin* (*Kunji*) chief
of the *Sigharichu-tumān* (10,000) of the *Quchin*
Mughals.

She married Yunas Khān *Chaghatai Mughal* when
he was forty-one years old. He was born in 818H
(1415-16) so that the date of her marriage is, approxi-
mately, 1156. At this time Yunas was made Great
Khān of the Mughals.

Isan-daulat bore three daughters, who were named
Mihir-nigār, Qūt-biq-nigār, and Khub-nigār. She had
many brothers, of whom three, Shiram, Mazid, and

'Alī-dost, took leading parts in Bābar's affairs. Her chief co-wife was Shāh Begam *Badakhshī*

She shared the vicissitudes of her remarkable husband's remarkable career for some thirty years, nursed him through two years of paralytic helplessness till his death in 892H (1487) at the age of seventy-four, and survived him about eighteen years

Four times at least she fell into the hands of an enemy

(1) In Kāshghar, *ca* 860H (1455-56), when Mih-nigār was an infant at the breast and when she was returned in safety to her husband

(2) In Tāshkand in 877H (1472-73), when Yūnas had gone to buy barley at a time of dearth in Mughal-istān. It was then that there occurred the well-known episode which shows Isān-daulat's high spirit and decision of character and which is briefly narrated in the Introduction (p 68). She was returned with honour to her husband

(3) In Andījān in 903H (1497-98), when the town was taken from her grandson Bābar by his kinsfolk. She was sent after him in safety to Khojand, and from there went on to the protection of her third daughter's home in Kāshghar

(4) At Samaiqand in 906H (1500-1), when the town was taken by Shaibānī. She remained behind when Bābar left the place, and rejoined him in a few months with his 'family, heavy baggage, and a few lean and hungry followers'

In the eighth year of her widowhood (900H) she was guiding Bābar's affairs with decision and sense in Andījān. He says that few women equalled her for sagacity, far-sight and good judgment, and that many important affairs were carried out by her counsel

News of her death reached Bābar in Kābul early in 911H (June, 1505), during the forty days' mourning for his mother

Two slight records of her remain for mention

XCI Khadija Begam

Presumably she was named after Muhammad's first wife

She was first a slave¹ of Sultān Abū-sa'id Mirzā, and upon his death in 873H (1469) she betook herself to Harāt and there became the wife of Sultān Husain Bāyqra

She had a daughter, known as Āq Begam, by Abū-sa'id, and two sons, Shāh Gharīb and Muzaffar Husain, by her marriage with Husain

Hers is an instance where the conferring of a title is mentioned Bābar says that Husain was passionately fond of her and that he raised her to the rank of begam, also that she managed him entirely To her are attributed the intrigues and rebellion which ruined Husain's family She acquired more influence than any other of his wives, and it was consequently round her surviving son Muzaffar Husain, that adherents gathered after his father's death She forced on the joint-kingship which excited Bābar's ridicule Mirzā Haidar when speaking of the death of Jahāngīr *Mīrān shāhī*, said that he was generally reported to have been poisoned in his wine by Khadija Begam after her old fashion

In 912H (1506-7) Bābar saw her in Harāt, and he was there unlawfully entertained by her at a wine-party When Shaibānī conquered the city in 913H she was cast down from her high estate and given up to be plundered, and was treated as one of Shaibānī's meanest slaves

Nema., 179, 182, 183, 198, 204, 228
Tār Rash, E & R, 196, 199

¹ Turkī text (Ilminsky), *ghuncha chī*, which Redhouse translates a seller of rosebuds and a young and good looking female slave The Persian text has the same word *ghuncha chī* The interest of these details is the light they may cast on the use of such words as *āghū* and *āghūcha*

Muharram 5th, 935H (September 20th, 1528), but various business detained her and Bābar paid her another of his dutiful visits on October 9th. When or if she returned to Kābul is not said, but she was at the Mystic Feast in Āgra in 1531.

Gul badan, 11a, 24b
 Mems, 374, 382, 387

XCIV Khāl-dār anaga

The nurse with a mole, *khāl-dār*, mole-marked
 Mother of Sa'ādat-yār *kūka*
Albar nāma, Bib Ind ed, I. 44

XCV Khānam Begam (No 18)

Daughter of Āq Begam, grand-daughter of Abū-sa'id *Mīnān shāhī*. The 'Khānam' may indicate that she is a Chaghatāi chief's child.

Gul badan, 24b

(Khānam, Muhtarima, q v)

XCVI Khānsh āghā Khuārizmī

Daughter of Jūjūq Mīrzā *Khvārizmī*, wife of Humāyūn, mother of Ibrāhīm who died as an infant. Bāyazīd calls her child Muhammad Farrūkh fāl, but Gul-badan and Abū'l-fazl are against him. Farrūkh-fāl was the child of Māh-chūchak. Ibrāhīm was born on the same day as Muhammad Hakīm, i.e., Jumāda I 15th, 960H (April 19th, 1553).

Gul badan, 71a, 71b, (?) 73b
 Bāyazīd (I O MS 72a), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1898, art Bāyazīd *bīyāt*, H Beveridge, p 14.
Albar nāma, Bib Ind ed, I 381

XCVII Khān Sultān Khānam and Sultānam Dughlāt

Both these names appear to be titles, and not personal.

Daughter of Saniz Mīrzā *Dughlāt* and Jamāl āghā, full-sister of Abā-bakr

She was a woman of life-long piety and devotion to good works. Perhaps for this reason her brother who seems to have been an incarnation of unjust cruelty, treated her with studied barbarity, as a consequence of which she died in torture and suffering.

Tār Rash, E & R, 88, 258

⊙
XCVIII Khān-zāda Begam Bāuqrā (No 16)

The khān born princess, Turkī khān, and Pers zāda, born

Gul-badan says she is a daughter of Sultān Mas'ūd Mirzā Mirān-shāhī, and through a daughter grandchild of Pīyanda Muhammad (sic) Sultān Begam, paternal great-aunt of Humāyūn. Bābar names no such marriage of a daughter of Pīyanda. 'The second of the daughters [of Pāyanda] was Kīchak Begam [whose name is probably a sobriquet] Sultān Mas'ūd Mirzā was extremely attached to her, but whatever efforts he made, Pāyanda-sultān Begam, having an aversion to him, would not consent to the match. She was afterwards' (Turkī sūnqrā, P de C dans la suite) 'married to Mullā Khwāja.'

A daughter of Husam Bāuqrā and of Bābā āghācha, whose name was Sa'idat-bakht and title Begam Sultān, was married to Mas'ūd after his blinding. Her daughter might be fitly described as of inferior rank to the great begams. Such a description is given by Bābar of 'Khān-zāda, daughter of Sultān Mas'ūd Mirzā.' Husam and Pāyanda's daughter would certainly rank as equal in birth to the daughters of Abū-sa'id, since she was a full Timūrid.

The 'extreme attachment' of Mas'ūd to Kīchak fits Musalmān marriage better than Musalmān courtship. It may be that, spite of Pāyanda's opposition, Mas'ūd married Kīchak. The 'afterwards' of the Memoirs (*supra*) and the *de la suite* of Pavet de Courteille seem to demand some more definite antecedent than

Mas'ūd's attachment Moreover, this presumably persisted with his wish to marry Kīchak

Did he marry Kīchak, and was she divorced after his blinding or at some other time, and then was Sa'ādat-bakht given to him?

Mems, 181, 182, 387
Gul badan, 24b

XCIX Khān-zāda Begam Mīrān-shahī

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā Mīrān-shahī and of Qūt-līq-nīgār Khānam, full-sister of Bābar and five years his senior. Eldest of her father's daughters. She is recorded as thrice married: first, to Shaibānī in 1501 (907H), secondly, to a man of inferior rank, Sayyid Hada, and, thirdly, to Mahdī Muhammad Khwāja,¹ son of Mūsa Khwāja. One child of hers is recorded, Shaibānī's son, Khuram-shāh Sultān.

She was born *circa* 1478 (883H). This is known from the statement of her brother that she was five years his senior. In 1501 (907H) she was married by Shaibānī when he captured Samargand from Bābar. Gul-badan makes the marriage a condition of Shaibānī's peace with Bābar, Haidar says she was given in exchange for Bābar's life, and Khāfī Khān, as a ransom (*ba tarīq-i-faida*). She was in Shaibānī's power and could have been married without consent of Bābar. As in 1501 she was twenty-three years old, she had almost certainly been married before, possibly to Mahdī. Her marriage arrangements with Shaibānī might include the divorce which the Musalmān law requires. Bābar does not go into details as to the marriage, he says she fell into Shaibānī's hands. Presumably as himself of Timūrid birth, Shaibānī would treat a Timūrid woman with respectful forms even when she was spoil of battle. To marry Khān-zāda, he divorced her maternal aunt, Mīhr-nīgār *Chaghataī*.

¹ Cf. Appendix B, Mahdī Khwāja

Khān-zāda's son by Shaibānī, Khurram-shāh, died a young man. Shaibānī divorced her because she leaned to her brother's side in disputed matters. He then gave her in marriage to a certain Sayyid Hada, who fell in the battle of Merv with Shaibānī himself (1510).

In 1511 and at the age of thirty-three, she was returned to Bābar by Shāh Ismā'īl. At what date she married Mahdī Muhammad Khwāja I am not able to say. It is probable that the marriage would take place within no long time after her return. As Mahdī is never described by Bābar in any way (as is his custom when a new actor comes upon the scene of his Memoirs), it is probable that Mahdī's joining Bābar and his marriage with Khān-zāda took place in the decade 1509-19, of which no record is known to survive¹. Mahdī was with Bābar in 1519 (925H), and is frequently mentioned subsequently.

There are many references to Khān-zāda by Gul-badan who frequently calls her Dearest Lady (*āka-janām*). She died at Qabal chak in 1545 (952H), aged about sixty-seven years, and after a life full of sorrows and chagrins.

Gul badan, 36, 156, 186, 236, 246, 276, 286, 506, 626, 68a
Mems, 10, 98, 241 (Supplement)

Tar Rash, E & R, 117, 155, 175, 196, 239, 400

Habibu-s sayār, under date 923H

Khāfi Khūn, I 83 (here Khāna zāda)

C Khān-zāda Begam Mīrān-shāhī

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrān-shāhī and Khān-zāda *Termizī* II, wife (1) of Abā-bakī *Dughlāt*, and mother by him of (?) Jahāngīr, Turāngū, and Bustāngīr, (2) of Sayyid Muhammad *Dughlāt* who married

¹ There are some indications that a record of this decade once existed.

her in conformity with the custom of *yanqa-lah*
(Cf *Jamāl aghā*)

Mems , 30

Tār Rash , E & R , 330

CI Khān zāda Begam *Termizī*

Of the family of the Khāns of Termiz , wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* She was a bride when Bābar was five, i e , in 893H (1488) but, according to Turkī custom, was still veiled Sultān Ahmad desired Bābar to pluck off the veil and run away, a little ceremony which it was supposed would bring him good luck when his time for marriage should come

Mems , 28

CII Khān zāda Begam *Termizī* (a)

Daughter of the chief (*mīr-i-buzurg*) of Termiz , wife of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* , mother of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā She died apparently early in her married life The mīrzā was greatly afflicted at her death

Mems , 29, 30

CIII Khān-zāda Begam *Termizī* (b)

Daughter of a brother of Khānzāda *Termizī* (a) , grand-daughter of the chief of Termiz , wife of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* , mother of Husain (who died, aged thirteen, before his father) and of five girls, Khānzāda, Bega, Āq, Āī, and Zainab

Mems , 29, 30, 38, 128

CIV Khān-zāda Khānam

'Epouse légitime' of Mu'azzal Mīrzā *Bayqā*, and illegally taken by Shaibānī

Mems , 224

Payot de Courteille, II , 10

CV Khūb-nigāi Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal

The image of beauty Here *khānam* has its full value, since Khūb nigār was daughter of the *Khāqān*, the Khān emphatically

Third daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghatāi* and Isān-daulat *Qūchīn*, wife of Muhammad Husain *Dughlāt Hīṣārī*, mother of Haidar and Habiba¹ She was a year older than her husband, and was married in 899H (1493-94) Bābar, writing in 907H (1501-2) mentions the reception of news of her death Her husband was murdered in 914H

Mems, 12, 99, 218

Tār Rash, E & R, 117, 118, 158, 156, 197

CVI Khurshed lālī (Nos 55 and 64)

Pers, the sun, sunshine

Gul badan, 26a

CVII Kīchak Begam Bāyqā

The small princess, Turkī, *kīchak*, small The name is probably a sobriquet

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqrā* and Pāyanda-sultān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*, wife of Maulānā Khwāja who was of the family of Sayyid Atā one of her father's best vazīrs

Khwānd-amīr reverses her marriage with that of her sister Bega, and makes her marry Bābar, son of Rabi'a

Mems, 181

Habību s sayār, 327 et seq

CVIII Kīchak Begam Termīzī (No 23)

Daughter of Mīr 'Alā'u l-mulk *Termīzī* and Fakhi-jahān *Mīrān-shāhī*, wife of Khwāja Mu'in *Ahīārī*, mother of Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Husain

¹ The translation of the *Tārīkh-i-rashādī* (E & R, 159) has the statement that Khūb nigār bore six sons (*farzandān*), and that two died at the breast and four survived. I believe it should read 'six children, of whom four died at the breast, and two survived her'

She went to Hindūstān with her mother, and was at Hindāl's wedding feast

Mems, without names (Cf Fakhr-jahān and Shāh Begam)
 Gul badan, 25a
Alkhar-nāma (lith ed), s n
Ain-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 322

CIX Kichak māham (No 80)

Cf s n Māham for meaning of the word.
 She is named as at Hindāl's wedding
 Gul badan, 26b

CX Kīlān Khān Begam

This is clearly not a personal name Pers. *kīlān*, elder, great, and Turkī *khān*, a title
 Daughter of Sultānam Begam *Mīrān-shahī* and grand-daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Which of Sultānam's three husbands was Kīlān Khān Begam's father is not said, from her daughter's title, Timūr Sultān *Uzbeg* seems most probable

Mems, 22
 Gul badan, 24b

CXI Lād-malik Turkomān

(?) Mistress of the Fort, Pers *lād*, fortress, and Ar *malik*, possessor, ruler
 Wife of (1) Tāj Khān *Sarangkhānī* and (2) of Shīr Khān *Sūi* (935H, 1528-29)
 B & H, II 131, 182, and authorities there cited by Mr Erskine

CXII Lāl-shād Khānam Chaghataī Mughal

Perhaps, with a lip like the gleam of a ruby, Pers *lāl*, ruby, and *shād*, gleam, happy
 Eldest daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān *Chaghataī* and of a 'slave' (*amm-i-uald*)
 'Although she was outside the circle of distinction, she was finally married to Muhammad Amī Mīrzā *Dughlat*'
Tār Rash, E & R, 161

CXIII Latīfa-sultān āghācha

Of pre eminent delicacy or gentleness, Ar *laṭīfa*, delicate, and a jest, and Ar *sultān*, sway

Chār-shambihī, a Wednesday wife, of Sultān Husain Mīzā *Bāyqrā*, mother of Abū'l-hasan and of Muhammad Muhsin (*kepek*, round-shouldered)

The *Habību s-siyā* says she was a relation of Jahān-shāh (? *Turkomān* or *Barlās*) She was dead before 912H (1506)

Mems, 179, 183

CXIV Latīf Begam Duladāī Barlās

Grand-daughter of Ahmad Hājī Beg, wife (1) of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, (2) of Hamza Sultān *Uzbeq*, and by him mother of three sons who fell into Bābar's hands at Hīsār, and were released by him

Both her grandfather Ahmad and his paternal uncle, Janī Beg *Duladāī*, were amīrs of her first husband

Mems, 23

CXV Māh-afroz Begam

The princess who outshines the moon, Pers *māh*, moon, and *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating

She was a wife of Kāmran and mother of Hājī Begam Two of Kāmran's wives are not known by their personal names, Hazāra Begam and the daughter of Uncle 'Alī Mīrzā *Begchik* Māh-afroz may be one of these.

Gul-badan, 64b

CXVI Māham anaga

Nurse of Akbar, wife of Nadīm *kūka*, mother of Bāqī and Adham *lūkas* Cf Bābū *āghā* Much of her story is given in the Introduction to this volume

CXVII Māham Begam āla and ālām (lady and my lady)

The word Māham is explained by Mr Erskine (who did not know Gul badan's book) as Bābar's name of endearment for his favourite wife, and as meaning 'my moon'. Mr Schuyler also translates it by the same words. He says that a woman who was shot for political offences in Bukhārā was known as 'My moon (Māham) of Keningher'.

But many Māhams are chronicled, and not only Bābar gives the name to Humāyūn's mother, Gul badan speaks frequently of 'my lady who was Māham Begam,' and Māham seems to be her personal name. It is used at least once as a man's (*Albar nāma*, I 320, Māham 'Alī Qulī Khān).

Whether māham is to be classed with sultānam, khānam, begam, shāham, I am unable to say.

Sir Douglas Forsyth (*Mission to Yarkand*, 84) translates khānam and begam by *my lord* and *my chief*. But neither is a domestic word, both are in common use in the sources to designate, for general readers, the wives or daughters of khāns and begs, or princes. Sultānam also is a common title, and from Gul badan's use of it does not appear to be a personal name, but to answer to sultān as khānam to khān, etc.

Against reading khānam as *my lady*, with a sense of possession or admission of superiority (as is done by Sir Douglas Forsyth), there are the Turkī words formed from it, viz, *khānam alī*, honey-suckle, and *khānam būjakī*, ladybird. Shāham, which has the appearance of being formed from shāh like the others by the suffix *am* or *im*, is used both for man and woman. Shīram occurs as a man's name.

Māham was a wife of whom it was said that she was to Bābar what 'Āyisha was to Muhammad, and she was Humāyūn's mother. Gul-badan mentions her often, yet no one of the numerous sources I have consulted, sets down her family or the name of her father.

At one time it appeared to me probable that she was a Begchik Mughal, because Bābar calls Yādgar *Begchik*, *taqlaī* when speaking of him in connection with Humāyūn. Further consideration led to the abandonment of the theory.

Uncle Yādgar, Uncle 'Alī, and Uncle Ibnāhīm (*Chapūl*, slashed-face) are named as being three of the eight brothers or half-brothers of Gul-rukh, the mother

of Kāmraṇ, and Bega (*Hajī*) Begam is the daughter of Uncle Yādgār

Amongst these eight Begchiks I do not find one named Uncle Muhammad 'Alī, and there is a good deal to lead one to regard a certain Khwāja Muhammad 'Alī *taghāi* as being Māham's brother

He was associated with Khost, and it is on record that Humāyūn visited his maternal grandparents (*nanahā*) in Khost. The Begchiks do not seem to have been connected with Khost. Bābar speaks frequently of Khwāja Muhammad 'Alī as being employed in the government of Khost (925H), as coming from Khost for orders, etc., and the *mīr-zādas* of Khost also are recorded as visiting the court. One of Māham's children was born in Khost.

Bābar frequently mentions an 'Abdu-l-malūk Khostī, and he may be a connection of Māham. He, however, appears as *Khostī*, *Khivastī*, *Qastī*, *qūichī*, *Qūichīn*, and without a more complete good Turkī text no opinion can be formed as to his identity.

Gul-badan says that *Ālā* (Māham) was related to the owners of the New Year's Garden in Kābul, and this was made by Ulugh Beg *Kābulī Mīrān-shāhī*.

Abū'l-fazl says Māham was of a noble Khurāsān family, related to Sultān Husain Mirzā (*Bāyqā*), and, like Hamīda-bānū Begam, was of the line of Shaikh Ahmad *Jāmī* (*az dūdman i-a'yān wa ashīāt-i-Khurāsān and, u a ba Sultān Husain Mīrzā nisbat-i-khuesh dā*) and Perhaps *nisbat-i-khuesh* implies blood-relationship on the father's side.

Gul-badan speaks of Māham's Mughal servants, but a Chaghataī, a Begchik, a Qūchīn is also a Mughal, and Babar often sinks the divisional tribe-name in the general one, Mughal (*c g*, Nems 9 and 21).

Some considerations suggest that Māham was a *Dughlāt Mughal*, and of the family of 'Abdu l-qadūs, but no valid opinion can be formed until a text as good as the Elphinstone is available for guidance.

Bābar married Māham in Harāt when he visited that city after Sultān Husain Mirzā's death, and in 912H (1506) Humāyūn was born on March 6, 1508 (Zū'l-qa'da 4th, 913H) Four other children were born to her, and all died in infancy They were Bār-bul, Mihr-jahān, Isān-daulat and Fāiūq

The events of her career are detailed in the Introduction to this volume and in Gul-badan Begam's book

Mems, 250, 405, 412, 423, 428_n

Gul badan, 4a, 6b, 7a, 8b, 11b, 13b, 14b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 18b, 21a and b, 22a and b, 23a and b 24b

Akbar nāma, Bib Ind ed, and H Beveridge, s n Māham and Māham 'Alī Qulī Khān

Turkistān, Schuyler, 95 ff

CXVIII Māham Kābulī (No 81)

At Hindāl's marriage feast

Gul badan, 26a

CXIX Māham Khānam Chaghataī Mughal

Second daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān Chaghataī and full-sister of Mansūi Khān Their mother was Sahib daulat Dughlat, sister of Mīn Jabāi Bardī Dughlat Māham married Bulāsh Khān Uzbek Kazakh, son of Awīq

Haider Mirzā names her as a hostage given, with her mother, by her brother Mansūi to his half-brother Sa'id at a time of their meeting in 1516 She had two other full-brothers, Bābajāk and Shāh Shaikh Muhammad

Tār Rash, N E & R, 160, 344.

CXX Māh Begam Qibchāq Mughal

The moon princess, Pers māl, moon

Daughter of Sultān Wais Qibchāq Mughal and sister of Haram Begam, wife of Kāmran Mirzā

Gul badan, 64b

CXXI Māh-chachaq Khalīfa

She is mentioned by Bāyazīd as interceding for him with Hamīda-bānū She may be a servant (*khalīfa*)

J R A S, October, 1898, art Bāyazīd *bīyāt*, H Beveridge p 16

CXXII Māh-chūchak Begam Aīghūn, Hājī Begam

The word *chūchak* presents difficulties Ilminsky writes *chūchūq*, Bāyazīd *chachaq* Gulbaīan, *chūchak* and *jūjal*, the Memoirs, *chuchak* Mr Blochmann and Mr Lowe transliterate, *jūjal* There is a Turkī word *jūjūq*, but its meaning of sweet savoured is less appropriate for a woman's name than a word which, spite of vowel variation it seems safer to take from the Persian, viz *chachak*, a rose, and *chachal*, *chuchul*, a lovely cheek, a mole

Daughter of Mirzā Muhammad Muqīm Aīghūn and of Bibī Zarīf Khātūn wife (1) of Bābar's *kūkhaltash* Qāsim, (2) of Shāh Hasan Aīghūn of Sīnd (died 968H), (3) of 'Īsā Tarkhān Aīghūn of Tatta and Sīnd

By Qasim, she was mother of Nāhīd Begam and by Shāh Hasan of his only child, Chūchak or Māh-chūchak, Kamīan's wife

She had an interesting story which Mr Erskine tells at length (B & H, I 348 *et seq*)

On the death of 'Īsā (975H) his son and successor Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān, who was a madman, ill-treated Māh-chūchak and Nāhīd who was then visiting her This led to a plot against him, but in the end Māh-chūchak was imprisoned by him and starved to death (Cf *see* Nāhīd)

Mems., 238

B & H, I 848 *et seq*

Tārīkh-i-sīnd, Mir Ma'sūm, in the account of Shāh Hasan's family

Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 420

Ilminsky, 273

XXIII Māh-chūchak Begam Aīghūn

Daughter of Shāh Hasan and Māh-chūchak Aīghūn and her father's only child, wife of Kāmārān, married 959H (1546) Her wifely fidelity is commemorated by the historians She went with Kāmārān to Makka after his blinding, and attended him until his death, October 5th, 1557 She survived him seven months

Tārīkh i sind, Mīr Ma' ūm, in the account of Shāh Hasan's family

CXXIV Māh chūchak Begam

Sister of Bairām *Oghlān* and of Farīdūn Khān *Kabulī*

She married Humāyūn in 1546 She had two sons, Muhammad Hakīm (born 960H —1553) and Farrūkh-fāl Gul-badan says she had four daughters and then, with discrepancy frequently found in her writings, names three Bakht-nisā', Sakīna bānū, and Amīna-bānū The name of the best-known of her girls, Fakhru-n-nisā', is omitted

Māh-chūchak's story is told by her sister-in-law, in the Introduction of this volume, by Mr Blochmann and by several Persian writers

She was murdered by Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī in Kābul in 1564

Gul-badan, 71a, 71b, 73b, 78b, 83a

Jauhar, Mr William Irvine's MS, Part II, Chapter II

Bāyazīd, I O MS, 72a

Nizāmud dīn Ahmad, 27th year of Akbar

Badāyūnī, Lowe, 54 et seq

Āīn i akbarī, Blochmann, s n

CXXV Makhdūma āghā (No 59)

The Lady āghā, A makhdūma, lady, mistress
Wife of Hindū Beg

Gul badan, 26a

CXXVI Makhdūma Begam (Qarā-qūz)

Wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Marān-shāhī* mother of Ruqaiya, a posthumous child, she was married at the end of 'Umar's days, she was tenderly beloved, and to flatter him her descent was derived from his uncle, Manūchahr *Marān-shāhī*

Mems, 10, 14

CXXVII Makhduma-jahan

The mistress of the world *Ar-nallduma*, mistress and Pers *jahan*, world

Mother of Sultan Bahadur *Gurjati*

B & H, II 96

CXXVIII Makhduma Qaluchī

A wife of Sa'id Khān *Chaghatai* a 'tribes woman', mother of Rashid sister of Suqur *Bahadūr Qaluchi*

Tār Rashī F & R, 110, 187, 309

CXXIX Makhdūma Khanam

The Lady Khānam, *Ar-makhduma* lady, mistress

Daughter of Shir Ali Khan *Chaghatai Mughal* sister of Wais Khān, wife of Amāsānjī Tārshī *Qalmāq* mother of Qadīr, Ibrāhīm, and Ilyās

Her marriage was a ransom for her brother Wais of whom it was commonly reported that he was routed sixty times by the Qalmaqs. On her marriage, Wais made Amāsānjī become a Musalman, and Makhdum continued the work of her husband's conversion and that of his tribe.

She named one of her daughters Karīm *Bardi* in affection and respect for the Dughlāt amīr of this name

Mems, 409

Tār Rashī, E & R, 67, 91

CXXX Makhdūma-sultān Begam

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mirzā *Mīrān-shahī* and Zuhra Begī *aghā Uzbek*, elder sister of Sultān Alī Mirzā 'She is now in Badakhshān' (Mems, 90) The 'now' may be in the late twenties of 1500, and she may have been with Mirzā Khān (Was *Mīrān-shahī*)

Mems, 80

CXXXI Makhfi

Hidden, concealed

This is the poetical name (*takhallus*) of Salīma-sultān Begam *Chaqānīdār*, Nūr-jahān Begam, and Zibū-n-nisā, a daughter of Aurang-zib

CXXXII Malika-jahān

The world's queen, Ar *malūa*, queen, and Pers *jahān*, world

Elliot and Dawson, V 81, 87, 88

CXXXIII Ma'sūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shahī

The very chaste princess, Ar *ma'sūm*, chaste, innocent, and *sultān*, sway, pre eminence

Fifth and youngest daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mirzā *Mīrān-shahī* Her mother was Habiba-sultān Begam *Arghūn* She married Babar (her first cousin) in 919H (1507), and from his account of the affair it was a love-match on both sides She was half sister of 'Āyisha, Bābar's first wife She died in child-bed, and her infant received her name

Gul badan, 6b

Mems, 22, 208, 225, 281, 420 Supplement

CXXXIV Ma'sūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shahī (No 43)

Daughter of Bābar and Ma'sūma, wife of Muhammad-zamān Mirzā *Bayqra*

Gul badan, 6b, 29a, 25b, 29b

Albar nāma, 8 n

Mems, 22, 395, 429 Supplement

CXXXV Maywa-jūn

I fruit of life, Pers *mayra*, fruit, and *jūn*, life

Daughter of Khazang *yasānāl* and a servant of Gul-badan Begam, an inferior wife of Humāyūn

Gul badan, 21b, 22a, 30a

CXXXVI Mīhr-angez Begam (No 29)

The princess who commands affection, Pers *mīhr* affection, and *angez*, commanding, raising

Daughter of Muzaffar Husam Mirza *Bāyqā*, grand daughter of Sultān Husam *Bāyqā* and Khadija

She was accomplished after the fashion of gentle men-at arms and she played polo

She was married by 'Ubaidullāh *Uluq* when Harat was taken by Shaibanī (913H, June, 1507)

She was at the Mystic Feast in 1531

Gul badan, 21b

Habibu s sayar 397 et seq

CXXXVII Mīhr-bānū Begam *Mirān shāhī* (? No 27)

The beloved, Pers *mīhr*, affection, and *bānū* possessing

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh *Mirān shāhī* and of Umīd *Andiānī*, full sister of Nāsir and Shahr-banū, born ca 886H (1481-82)

Gul-badan mentions a Mīhī-līq Begam (No 27) who was a paternal aunt of Humāyūn, as being at the Mystic Feast. This may be Mīhr banu. No aunt named Mīhr-līq is mentioned elsewhere, and *līq* and *bānū* have the same sense

Gul badan, 25a

Mems, 10

CXXXVIII Mīhr-bānū Khānam

I think she is a relative of Bābar, and she may be the daughter of 'Umar Shaikh and Umīd, and thus Bābar's half-sister (See *infra*) From her title of Khanam,

she is very possibly a Chaghatāi on her mother's side (Umīd was an Andijānī), or the style is due to her marriage with a khān. She appears to have married a man of high rank, perhaps Kūchūm (*Qūch-kunji*) Khān who was Khāqān of his tribe from 1510 to 1530, or his son and successor (ruled from 1530 to 1538). She had a son Pulād whom Bābar mentions as fighting with 'Qūch-kunji' and his son Abū-sa'id *Uzbek* at Jām (1528).

The Qūch-kunji was the tribe of Isān-daulat

Kūchūm, Abū-sa'id, Mīhr-bānū, and Pulād sent ambassadors and messengers to Bābar in the same year, and Bābar mentions his return gifts with quaint particularity. The envoys were entertained at a feast by him on December 12th, 1528 (935H).

Mems, 10, 890, 895, 897, 899

Tār Rashī, E & R, s n Kuchum and Sultān and 208 n
Muhammadan Dynasties, Stanley Lane Poole, 278

CXXXIX Mīhr-jahān or -jān Begam Mīrān-shāhī

Sun of the world or of life, Pers *mīhr*, sun, and *jahān*, world, or *jān*, life, soul

Daughter of Bābar and Māham, born at Khost, died an infant

Gul badān, 66

CXL Mīhī-nigān Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal

The image of affection, or a very sun

Eldest daughter of Yūnas Khān *Chaghatāi* and Isān-daulat (*Qūchūn*, *Kunji*), born *cir* 860H (1455-56), wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrān-shāhī, first cousin of Bābar

In 905H (early in July, 1500) she was captured by Shaibānī and married by him. In 906H (1500-1) she was divorced when he wished to marry Khān-zāda, her niece. She then stayed awhile in Samarqand. In 907H (1501-2) she went to Tāshkand and joined

Mirān-shāhī who brought her when she herself married Sultān Husain, and presented her to him

She was mother of three sons Abū-tūrāb, Muhammad Husain, and Faridūn Husain, and of two daughters Bairām (or Maryam) and Fāṭima

Mems, 181, 182, 188

Habību s sayūr (lith ed), 327 et seq

CXLII Mīng-līq kākaltāsh

She escaped from Samarqand with Bābar's mother on its capture by Shaibānī in 907H (1501)

Mems, 98

CXLIII Mubārīka Bibī, Afghānī aghācha (No 56)

Ar *mubārīka*, blessed, fortunate

She was a daughter of Shāh Mansūi Yūsufzai, and was married by Bābar at Kehāj on January 30th, 1519 (Muharram 28th, 925H) The alliance was the sign and seal of amity between him and her tribe A charming account of her and her marriage is given in the *Tarīkh-i-hafiz i-rahmat-khānī*, and Mr Beveridge has translated it in full under the title 'An Afghān Legend,' so that it need not be reproduced here

Gul-badan never gives the name Mubārīka (Blessed Damsel) as that of the Afghān lady (*Afghānī aghācha*) whom she so frequently and pleasantly mentions Hafiz Muhammad (*l.c*) says that Mubārīka was much beloved by Bābar, and this is borne out by the fact that she was one of the small and select party of ladies who were the first to join him in India She went there, it is safe to infer, with Māham and Gul-badan in 1529

She bore no child, and this misfortune Hafiz Muhammad attributes to the envy of other wives who administered drugs to deprive her of motherhood and weaken her husband's affection

She died early in Akbar's reign

She is occasionally spoken of simply as 'Khānam'

Gul badan, 62b

Akbar nāma, s n

Aīn ʿakbarī, Blochmann, s n

Tār Rash, E & R, 451

Cf Introduction

CXLVII Munauwar Sultān Begam Bayqarā

The illuminated princess, Ar *munauwar*, bright illuminated

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mirzā Bayqarā and Bābā aghācha, wife of Sayyid Mirzā of Andekhud who appears also to have married her niece. She was famed for her beauty. The Memoirs and Ilmmsky's text do not give her name, and I have found it in the *Habibu-s-siyār*. From this same work is derived the information that Sayyid Mirzā is a name given to a son of Ulugh Beg Mirzā *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Mems, 182

Habibu s siyār, 827 *et seq*

CXLVIII Nāhīd Begam (No 54)

Pers *Nāhīd*, the name of the mother of Alexander, a name for the planet Venus, *etc*

Daughter of Māh-chūchak Aīghūn by her marriage as a captive of Bābar, with his foster-brother Qāsim, wife of Muhibb-'alī *Barlas*.

When her mother, resenting her position in a misalliance, ran away, Nāhīd, then eighteen months old, remained in Kābul.

When her mother was imprisoned in Sind by Muhammad Bāqī *Tarkhān*, Nāhīd escaped to Bhakkar, and was protected, till her return to Akbar's court, by Sultān Mahmūd *Bhakkarī* (975H).

She was at Hindāl's wedding feast. Much of her story is contained in the Introduction of this volume.

Gul badan, 4a, 28a

Tārīkh-i-sind, Mīr Ma'sūm

Bādshāh nāma s n (fully used by Blochmann)

Aīn ʿakbarī, Blochmann, s n

B & H, I 348, 351, 352, 385

CXLIX Nār-gul āghācha (No 58)

(?) Red as a rose, pomegranate red I or *nār* see
infra Pers *gul*, a rose

She was perhaps one of two Circassian slaves, of whom Gul-nār may be the other and who were sent to Bābar by Tahmāsp in 1526

Mems, 347

Gul badan, 25*b*, 35*a*, 38*a*

CL Nār-sultān āghā (No 77)

Presumably Pers *nār*, a pomegranate, but it might be Ar *nār*, advice, counsel, or even fire and *sultān*, pre eminence a high degree of what is expressed by the first word of the compound name

Gul badan, 26*a*

CLI Nigār āghā (No 76)

Pers *nigār*, a mistress, a sweetheart

Mother of Mughal Beg

Gul badan, 26*a*

CLII Nizhād-sultān Begam Bāyqā

The princess of highly distinguished race, Pers *nizhād*, family, high born, Ar *sultān*, pre eminence

Eldest daughter of Sultān Husain Mirza Bāyqā and Bāba āghācha, wife of Sikandar Mirza, son of Bāyqā Mirza who was her father's elder brother

Mems, 182

Habibu s *siyār*, 387 *et seq*

CLIII Pāpā (?) Bābā) āghācha

Mr Erskine writes *Papa* and Ilminsky, perhaps following him, *Pāpā Bābā*—i.e., darling—would seem a more fitting name for one who is said to have been much beloved

She was a low-born wife of Sultān Husain Mirza Bāyqā and foster-sister of Āfāq Begam The mirza 'saw her and liked her,' and she became mother of seven of his children, i.e., four sons, Muhammad

Ma'sūm, Farrūkh Husain, Ibn Husain, Ibrāhīm Husain, of three daughters, Nizhād-sultān, Sa'adat-bakht, and a third whose name Bābar does not give

Mems, 181, 182, 188

CLIV Pāshā Begam Bahārlū Turkomān of the Black Sheep

(?) Turkī Pāshā, a lord, or Pers *pecha*, chief, before The *Ma'āsir i rahīmī* writes *pāshā*

Daughter of 'Alī-shakr Beg Bahārlū, wife (1) of Muhammadī Mīrzā of the Black Sheep, (2) in 873H (1468-69) of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, mother by Mahmūd of three daughters and one son, Bayasanghar (born 882H)

Bābar does not give the name of any one of the three girls, nor does he mention that one of them was a wife of his own. One married Malik Muhammad Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. The *Ma'āsir-i-rahīmī* supplies the information that another was Sālha-sultān Begam and that she had a daughter by Bābar whose name was Gul-rukh, that Gul-rukh married Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad *Chaqānīānī*, and had by him Salīma-sultān Begam. Abū'l-fazl says that a daughter of Pāshā by Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā was married to Khwāja Hasan *Khwāja-zāda*, and that on account of this connection *Firdaus-makānī* (Bābar) married Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn to his own daughter, Gul-barg Begam, and that Salīma-sultān Begam was the issue of this marriage.

(There are difficulties connected with the account here given of Sālha which are set forth under the name of her daughter, Salīma-sultān.)

Pāshā Begam was of the same family as Bairām Khān (Cf genealogical table s n Salīma-sultān.)

Mems, 29, 80, 81, 72.

Tār Rash, E & R, 98 n.

Ma'āsir i rahīmī, Asiatic Society of Bengal MS in year 1024H.

CLV Pāyanda-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī

(?) Of fixed pre-eminence, Pers *pāyanda*, firm, stable, and Ar *sultān*, pre-eminence

Daughter of Abū-saʿīd Sultān Mīrān-shāhī, paternal aunt of Bābar, wife of Sultān Husain Mīrān Bāyqā, sister of Shahr-bānū whom Sultān Husain Mīrān divorced, mother of Haidar Mīrān Bāyqā, of Āq, Kīchak, Bega, and Āghā Begams

When the Uzbeks took Khurāsān, 913H (1507-8), she went to 'Irāq, where 'she died in distress'

Mems, 80, 180, 181, 182, 204, 203 and n., 228

Gul-badan 25a (here a *Muhammad* is inserted after Pāyanda in the name)

CLVI Qadīr Khānam Qālmāq

Daughter of Amāsānjī Taishī Qālmāq and Makhdūma Khānam *Chaqhatāi*

Tār Rash, E & R, 91

CLVII Qarā-qūz Begam Bāyqā

The black eyed princess *Qarā qūz* is a sobriquet, and I have not found her personal name

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrān Bāyqā and Pāyanda sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī, wife of Nāsir Mīrān, Bābar's half-brother

Mems, 181

((*Qarā-qūz* Begam, Rabi'a, q 1)

((*Qarā qūz* Begam, Makhdūma, q 1)

CLVIII Qūtūq āghācha and Begam

Ilmsky writes *Qūtūq*, Mems, *Katal*

Foster-sister of *Tarkhān* Begam, wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrān Mīrān-shāhī, mother of four daughters (1) Rabi'a (*Qarā-qūz*), (2) Salīqa (Āq), 'Āyisha (wife of Bābar, (4) Sultānam

She was married 'for love,' and Ahmad was 'pro-

digiously attached ' to her. She drank wine, her co-wives were neglected from fear of her. At length her husband put her to death, and ' delivered himself from his reproach '.

Moms, 22

CLIX Qūt-līq (Qutluq) Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal

(?) The image of happiness, from Turkī *qūlla*, happy, and *līq*, endowed with

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Khān Chaghatāi, wife of Jānī Beg Khān Uzbek

Her marriage was a sequel of victory by Shaibānī over her father. Cf. 'Āyisha (her sister)

Tār Rash, E & R, 160, 251

CLX Qūt-līq-nigār Khānam Chaghatāi Mughal

Second daughter of Yūnas Khān Chaghatāi and Isān-daulat Qūchūn, chief wife of 'Umar shāikh Mīrān-shāhī, half-sister of Mahmūd and Ahmad Khāns, mother of Khān-zāda and Bābar

She accompanied her son in most of his wars and expeditions, and lived to see him master of Kābul. She died in Muharram, 911H (June, 1505)

Moms, 10, 11, 12, 80, 90, 94, 98, 99, 104, 105, 134, 169

Gul badan, 4a

Tār Rash, s n

Al bar nāma, s n

CLXI Rabī'a-sultān Begam Bāyqā and Bedka Begam

Bāyqā

These two names may indicate the same person

The Memoirs (176 and 177) say that Sultān Husām Mīnzā Bāyqā had two full-sisters, Āka and Bedka, and that Bedka married Ahmad Hāfi Tarikhān, and had two sons who served Sultān Husām

These statements are contained also in the Turkī texts (B M Add 26,324, and Ilminsky), and also in a considerable number of good Persian texts in the British Museum and Bodleian

There is, however, this difference of statement. The Turkī texts write *Bedka Begam ham mīrzā nīnak aīkā chī sī aīdī*. P de C translates *c'est aussi l'aînée du mīrzā*. The Persian texts have *Bedka Begam ki khuāhar-i-khud mīrzā būd*, and from this Mr Erskine translates *the mīrzā's younger sister*.

The Turkī, it should be observed, uses of *Āka* precisely the same word as of *Bedka*, *aīkā-chī sī*.

It may be right to regard *Bedka* as the younger of the two sisters of the *mīrzā*, and not as the sister younger than the *mīrzā*.

To pass now to what has led me to make a tentative identification of *Bedka* with *Rabī'a-sultān*.

The *Memoirs* (181) mention *Rabī'a-sultān* as the younger sister of the *mīrzā* (*Husain*) and as having two sons, *Bābar* and *Murād* who were given in marriage to two daughters of *Husain*.

The Turkī texts do not describe *Rabī'a sultān* in any way, or say that she was *Husain's* sister. They simply mention the marriages.

The Persian texts say of *Husain's* two daughters (*Bega* and *Āghā*) *ba pīsarān-i-khwāhar-i-khud-i-khudā Rabī'a sultān Begam, Bābar Mīrzā wa Sultān Murād Mīrzā, dāda būdand*.

The Persian texts which state that *Rabī'a-sultān* was *Husain's* own sister, have greater authority than most translations can claim for such additional information as is here given, because the Persian translation of the *Tūzūk-i-bābarī* was made in a court circle and at a date when such additional statements were likely to be known to many living persons.

Husain may have had a younger and half-sister, but the words in the Persian texts which are used of *Rabī'a sultān* are those used of *Bedka*, and they are more applicable to a full than a half sister.

The *Āla* of the passage in which *Bedka* is mentioned has no personal name recorded. *Bedka* may be a word of the same class as *āla*, i.e., a title or

sobriquet, and Rabī'a-sultān may be the personal name of Bedka. Perhaps the word *Bedka* is *Beqa*.

The facts of Bedka's descent are as follows: she was a daughter of Mansūr Mirzā *Bāyqā* and of Fīroza Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*, and thus doubly a *Timūrid*. She was full-sister of *Bāyqā* and Husain Mīrzās and of Āka Begam. She married Ahmad Khān *Hājī Tarkhān*, and had two sons whose names (if Bedka be Rabī'a-sultān) were Bābar and Mu'ād and who married two of her nieces, Bega and Āghā.

Mems, 176, 177, 181

Ilminsky, 203, 204, 208

B M Turkī Add 26,234, f 48a and b, 53

Other texts under 911H

CLXII Rabī'a-sultān Begam (*Qatā-qūz*) *Mīrān shāhī*

Daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mirza *Mīrān-shāhī* and Qūtūq (Katak) *aghācha* (Begam), wife (1) of Sultān Mahmūd Khān *Chaghatai* and mother of Bābā Sultān, and (2) of Jānī Beg *Uzbek* who married her after the murder of her father and her son by his cousin Shaibani in 914H (1508).

Mems, 22

Tar Rash, I & R, 114, 116

CLXIII Rajab-sultān *Mīrān shāhī*

Ar *rajab*, fearing, worshipping. *Sultān* may here be a title.

Daughter of Sultān Mahmud Mirza and a concubine (*ghūncha chī*).

Mems., 30

CLXIV Ruqayya Begam *Mīrān shāhī*

Ruqayya was the name of a daughter of Muhammad, and conveys the notion of bewitching or of being armed against spells.

Daughter of Humdal, first wife of Akbar, she died Jumāda I 7th, 1035H (January 19th, 1626), at the age of eighty-four. She had no children of her own, and she brought up Shah Jahan. *Mihru-n nisa'* (Nūr-

jahān) lived 'unnoticed and rejected' with her after the death of Shīr-afkan

Āin i albarī, Blochmann, 309, 509

CLXV Ruqaiya-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīrān-shāhī* and Makh-dūma-sultān Begam (*Qarā-qūz*) She was a posthumous child She fell into the hands of Jānī Beg *Uzbeg*, in 908 9H (1502-4), and bore him 'two or three' sons who died young 'I have just received information that she has gone to the mercy of God' The date of this entry in the Memoirs is about 935H (1528 9)

Mems, 10

CLXVI Sa'adat-bakht (Begam Sultān) Bāyqā

Of happy fortune, Ar *sa'adat*, happy, and Pers *bal'ht*, fortune

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrān *Bāyqā* and Papa (Bāba) *āqhācha* She was married to Sultān Ma'sūd after the loss of his eyesight

Mems, 182.

Habību s sayār, 327 *et seq*

CLXVII Sāhib-daulat Begam Dughlāt

The princess of good fortune, Ar *ṣāhib*, enjoying, and *daulat*, fortune

Sister of Mīr Jabīr *Bardī Dughlāt*, wife of Sultān Ahmad Khān *Chaghatāi*, mother of Mansūr, Bābājāh, Shāh Shaikh Muhammad and Māham

Tār Rash, E & R, 125, 344

CLXVIII Sakīna-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī

The princess guardian of tranquillity, Ar *sakīna*, tranquillity of mind, and Pers *bānū*, keeper

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, wife of Shāh Ghāzī Khān, son of Naqīb Khān *Qazwīnī*, a personal friend of Akbar

Gul badan, 71a

Blochmann, 485, 449

CLXIX Sālha-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī*Cf Salīma-sultān Chaqānīānī*○ CLXX Salīma-sultān Begam Chaqānīānī

Daughter of Mirzā Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad *Chaqānīānī* and of a daughter of Bābar, as to whose name the sources ring changes upon the rose. She appears as Gul-rang (B and H s n), Gul-barg, Gul-rukh. As her mother was a full Turkoman or Turk by descent, it has occurred to me that she may have borne a Turkī name, and that the various forms it assumes in the Persian may have their origin in this.

As to her maternal parentage there are difficulties. From the *Ma'āsiri-ī-shahī*, under 1024H, the following information is obtained. Pāshā Begam *Bahārlū Turkomān* married (873H, 1469) as her second husband, Sultān Mahmūd Mīzā *Mīrān-shāhī*. By him she had three daughters and one son. Bayasanghar (b 882H, 1477). One daughter whose name was Sālha sultān Begam, married Bābar and bore him a daughter, Gul-rukh (*sic*). Gul-rukh married Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad *Chaqānīānī*, and their daughter was Salīma-sultān Begam who married first, Bairām Khān-ī-khānān, and secondly, the Emperor Akbar.

Abū'l-fazl (*Bib Ind* ed, II 65) adds the particular that *Firdaus mahānī* gave his daughter Gul-barg (*sic*), to Nūru-d-dīn because a daughter of Mahmūd and Pāshā had been given to Nūru-d-dīn's grandfather Khwāja Hasan, known as Khwāja-zāda *Chaqānīānī*. He also states that Salīma-sultān Begam was the issue of Gul-barg's marriage.

In the Memoirs, as we have them, there is no mention of Sālha-sultān nor of Nūru-d-dīn's marriage with a daughter of Bābar. Yet Abū'l-fazl states that *Firdaus-mahānī* arranged Gul-barg's marriage. The first omission is the more remarkable because Bābar (*Mems*, 30) states that Pāshā had three daughters. He does not give their names, and specifies the

marriage of the eldest only. On the same page he tells of his marriage with Salha's half sister Zama and of her death. The omission is remarkable and appears to have no good ground, since he chronicles his other Timurid marriages. Of Pasha's daughters it may be noted here that one married Malik Muhammad *Miran shahī*, another Khwaja Hasan *Chaganañi*, and the third Babar.

It appears to me tolerably clear that Babar's marriage with Salha sultan took place at a date which falls in a gap of the Memoirs, *i.e.*, from 1511 to 1519. This is the period which contains the exile from Kabul after the Mughal rebellion.

Not only does Babar omit Salha sultan's name and his marriage with her (Memoirs, 30), but Gul-badan is also silent as to name, marriage and child of Salha-sultan. This silence is in every way remarkable. She enumerates her father's children and gives their mothers' names, and she enumerates some of his wives in more places than one. From her lists a Timurid wife cannot have escaped, and especially one whose child became the mother of Gul-badan's associate Salima sultan.

An explanation of Gul-badan's silence and also of a part of Babar's has suggested itself to me, it is conjectural merely and hypothetical. The absence of mention of Salha sultan and of her child suggests that she appears under another name in Gul-badan's list of her father's children and then mothers. She may be Gul-badan's own mother, Dil-dār Begam without undue wresting of known circumstantial witness.

The principal difficulty in the way of this identification is Abul-fazl's statement that Nuru-d-din's marriage was made by *Irdaus makānī*, whereas Gul-badan states that her father arranged two Chaghatai marriages for her sisters.

If we might read *Jannat-āshyānī* (Humāyūn) for *Irdaus-makānī* much would fall into place, the

marriage with Nūru-d dīn could be a re-marriage of Gul-chihna who was widowed in 1533, and of whose remarriage nothing is recorded until her brief political alliance with 'Abbas *Uzbek* in 1549. It is probable that she remarried in the interval.

To pass on to recorded incidents of Salima-sultān's life

There is an entry in Hindāl's guest-list which may indicate her presence

She accompanied Hamīda bānū and Gul-badan to Hindūstan in 964H (1557), and she was married at Jalindhar shortly after Safar 15th, 965H (middle of December, 1557) to Bairām Khān i khānān. It is said that the marriage excited great interest at Court. It united two streams of descent from 'Alī shukī Beg Bahārīlū Turkomān. Salima sultān was a Timurid through Bābar, one of her grandfathers, and through Mahmūd, one of her great-grandfathers.

A few words must be said about her age at the time of her marriage, because the question has been raised through Jahangīr's statement that she died at the age of sixty in 1021H, and commented upon by the *Darbār-i albarī*. If Jahāngīr gives her age correctly she must have been born in 961H, and this would make her a child of five when she married Bairām, and needs her betrothal by her father to Bairām to date from babyhood.

The *Darbār-i albarī* says that it is clear from Jahangīr's statement of her age at death that she was married to Bairām *at* 5, and that her memory is thus cleared from the reproach of two marriages.

Whatever is concealed in Jahāngīr's 'sixty,' nothing is said to indicate that he desired to bring Salima-sultān into the circle of Hindū propriety. He may have had the wish, he was a Hindu mother's son. The comment of the modern author of the *Darbār-i*

akbarī witnesses to the Hindūizing action to which Moslim custom and thought have submitted Adult marriage was no reproach to Islām in Salīma's day

It does not, however, seem correct to accept Jahāngīr's statement that Salīma-sultān was sixty only at death To have betrothed her as a baby and to have married her to a man of, at least, middle-age at five, is not in harmony with the Muhammad custom of Humāyūn's day Moreover, Jahāngīr himself speaks of her as married (*kaḍ khudā*) to Bairām She is said by Abū'l-faḍl to have been betrothed (*nāmzād*) by Humāyūn, and married (*sipurdan*) by Akbar to Banām Khān

Badāyunī's words indicate adult and not child marriage, *sābiqā dar habāla-i-Banām Khān Khān-i-lhānān bād, b'ad azān dakhil-i-haram-i-pādshāhī shūd*

After the murder of Bairām in 968H Salīma-sultān was married by Akbar She was probably a few years his senior

In 983H she made her pilgrimage with Gul-badan Particulars of the expedition are given in the Introduction to this volume

Her name appears in the histories as a reader, a poet who wrote under the pseudonym of *makhfi*, and as pleading with Akbar for Salīm's forgiveness

Her death is chronicled by Jahāngīr who heard of it on Zū'l qa'da 2nd, 1021H (December 15th, 1612) He gives particulars of her birth and descent, and of her marriages, and he states that she was sixty at the time of her death By his orders her body was laid in a garden which she herself had made

Jahāngīr praises her both for her natural qualities and her acquirements She creates an impression of herself as a charming and cultivated woman

Gul badan, (?)26a

Akbar nāma s n

Badāyunī, Lowe, 18, 216, 389

Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī, Savyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 113

Khāfi Khān, *Bib Ind* ed., I 276

Āin-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s n

Darbār-i-akbarī, 736

The genealogical table on the next page illustrates Salīma sultān's descent, and the following dates bear also upon the topic

Pāshā married Mahmūd	878H —1469
Bayasanghar born	882H —1477
Mahmūd died	900H —Jan 1495
Bābāi married Zainab, d of Mahmūd	910H —1501
Zainab died	918H 914H —1507 8
Sālha s child, the wife of Nūru d dīn, was not born in 911H —1511, because she is not in the list of children who left Kābul with Babar in that year (Gul badan, 7a)	

CLXXI Salīma Khānam Chaqhatāi Muḡhal

Daughter of Khizī Khwājā, but whether also of Gul-badan is not recorded

She went with Gul-badan to Makka in 983H (1575)

Āin i akbarī, Blochmann, 441

CLXXII Salīqa-sultān Begam (Āq Begam) Mīrān shāhī

(Ilminsky, 25, reads Sālha) The princess of excellent disposition, Ar *salīqa*, of good disposition, and *sultān*, pre eminence

Daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mirzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and Qūtūq (Katak) Begam, wife of her cousin Ma'sūd The marriage was announced to Bābāi in 900H (1494) with gifts of gold and silver, almonds, and pistachios. She was captured by Abū-bakr *Dughlat* with Shāh Begam and Mihr-nigār Khānam

Mems, 22, 27

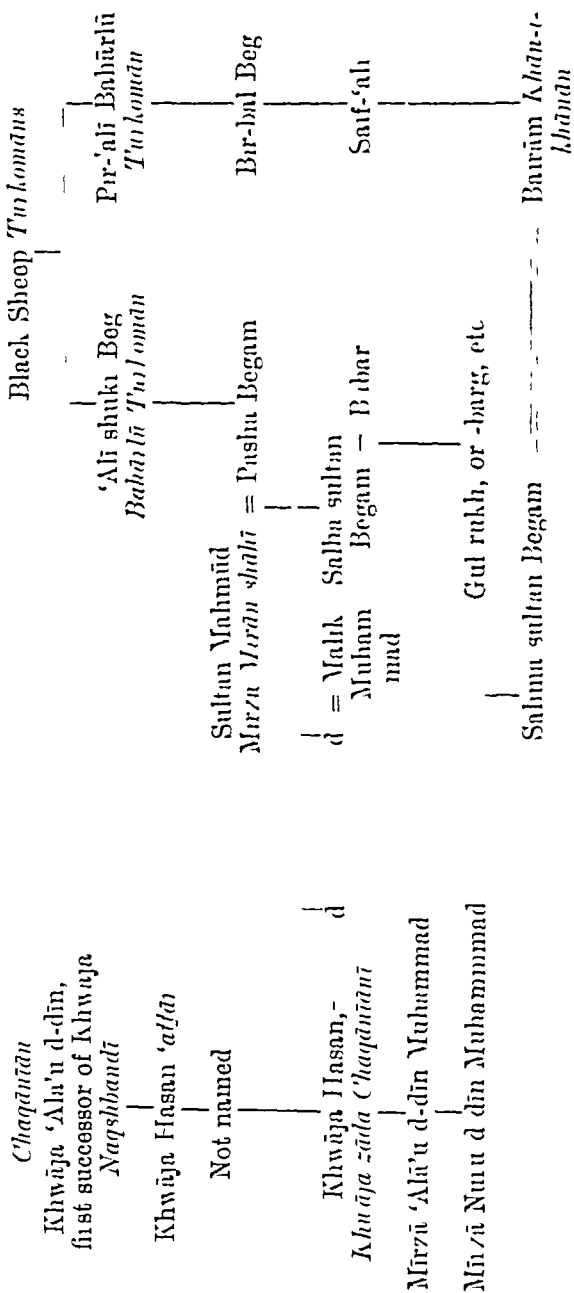
CLXXIII Sumīha Begam Barlās

The gentle princess, Ar *sūmih*, gentle

Daughter of Muhibb 'Alī *Barlās* (son of Nizāmu d-dīn 'Alī *Khalifa*), and presumably of Nāhid Begam, mother of Mujāhid Khān

Mujāhid (who is named in the *Tabaqāt-i akbarī* as commander of 1,000, but is not in the *Āin*) was a son

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF SALĪMA-SULTĀN CHAQAŪLĀNĪ



of Musāḥib Khān, son of Khwāja Kilān (Bābar's friend)

Āin i akbarī, Blochmann, 421, 533

CLXXIV Sarv-qad and Sarv-i-sahī

Straight as a cypress, Pers *sarv*, a cypress, and *qad*, form, or *sahī*, erect

Sarv-i-sahī, to use Gul-badan's word, was a singer and reciter. She belonged to the households both of Babar and Humāyūn, and was subsequently married, with full *nisbat*, to Mu'min Khān i-khānān

She acted as go-between of Mu'min and Khān-i-zamān ('Alī Qulī U'zbeg-i-sharabānī) during the rebellion of the latter—probably in the tenth year of Akbar, and Bayazid calls her a reliable woman and the *haram* of the Khān-i-khānān. She sang on the way to Lamghān by moonlight in 958II (1551), she was with Mu'min at the time of his death in Gau (Safar, 983II, 1575), and in Rajab of the same year accompanied Gul-badan to Makka

Gul-badan, 82a (inserted in the translation after 73b)

Bayazid, I O MS, 122b, 147b

Akbar nama, Bib Ind ed, III 145

CLXXV Shād Begam Bayqā (No 28)

Daughter of Haidar Bayqā and Boga Mirān-shahī, wife of 'Adil Sultān

Gul-badan, 25a

Mems, 180

CLXXV (a) Shād Bibī

Wife of Humāyūn, lost at Chausa.

Gul-badan, 33b

CLXXVI Shāham āghā

(?) My queen, from Pers *shāh*, king, ruler

Of the *haram* of Humāyūn. She went with Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983II

Āin i akbarī, Blochmann, 441

CLXXVII Shāh Begam Badakhshī

The princess of royal blood

She was one of six daughters of Shāh Sultān Muhammad, King of Badakhshīn, the last of a long line of hereditary rulers of his country who claimed descent from Alexander of Macedon. Her mother was a sister of Sultān Sanjar *Bairās*.

She was given in marriage to Yunas Khān *Chaghatai* and was the mother of Mahmūd and Ahmad Khāns and of Sultān-nigar and Daulat Khānams. She was widowed in 892H (1487), and survived Yunas more than twenty years.

She dwelt in Mughalistan with her elder son, Mahmud, the then Khaghan of the Mughals from the time of Yunas' death until about 911H (1505). Then 'base advisers provoked a quarrel between the mother and son—a son so obedient that he had never even mounted for a ride without her permission. They [the base advisers] decided to send Shāh Begam to Shāhī Beg Khān to solicit a country for herself, because she found living in Mughalistan distasteful. Now, as the Begam was a very sensible woman, she went under this pretext, and thus left her son before those base advisers could bring about an open rupture which would have caused endless scandal and reproach to herself. The rumour was that she had gone to entreat Shāhī Beg Khān while she was really enjoying in Samarqand the company of her children' (*Tarīkh-i Rashīdī*, E & R, 180).

Shāhī Beg did not permit her to remain in Samarqand but banished her to Khurāsān. From Khurāsān she went with other connections and relations to Bābāi in Kabul. They arrived early in 911H (June, 1505), during the ceremonial mourning for Babar's mother, Shāh Begam's stepdaughter. With Shāh Begam was Haidar Mīzās father and also Bābar's aunt, Mihī-nigār. Haidar says that Bābāi gave the party a warm welcome and showed them all possible

Kīchak, she was the wife of Sharafu d dīn Husam
(C/ Kīchak)

She was at the Mystic Feast

Gul badan, 246

CLXXIX Shāh Khānam (No 17)

Daughter of Badī'u-l-jamāl Begam

Gul badan, 246

CLXXX Shahr-bānū Begam Mūān shāhī

(?) Ar *shahr*, the moon, the new moon

Daughter of Sultan Abū sa'īd Mirza *Mīrān shāhī*
wife of Sultan Husam Mirza *Bāuqa*, and married to
him before his accession in 573H (March, 1469)

Bībar gives an entertaining detail about her married
life. Once at Chekman her husband was engaged in
a battle with her brother Mahmud. All his ladies
except herself alighted from their litters and mounted
on horseback, presumably for rapid flight if the day
went against Husam. Shahr-bānū, however, 'relying
on her brother,' remained in her litter. This being
reported to her husband, he divorced her and married
her younger sister, Pūyanda sultān.

Of her subsequent history nothing seems recorded
(C/ Mingli-bī āghācha)

Mems, 182

CLXXVI Shahr-bānū Begam Mūān shāhī (No 7)

Third daughter of Umar Shaikh Mirza *Mūān shāhī*
and Umīd *Andiyānī* half-sister of Babar and eight
years his junior, born *cir* 1491 full-sister of Nāsir
and Mīhr-bānū, wife of Junaid *Bailās* (brother of
Nizāmu-d-dīn Alī *Khalīfa*), mother by him of Sanjar
Mirzā, widowed *cir* 944H (1537-38)

She seems to have gone to Sind with her nephew,

CXXXIV Shih-t'ung-ch'ing

Daughter of Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing

CXXXV Shih-t'ung-ch'ing

Daughter of Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing

When the first of the three daughters of Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 married. On the day of the wedding
 P'ing-t'ung-ch'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 Hsiao-p'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 for her residence at the time of the wedding
 mon- due to an illness. He was
 buried. He advanced the funeral
 established the funeral service.

Sultanin married Ch'ien-t'ung-ch'ing Shih-t'ung-ch'ing
 with a grand ceremony. He was
 at the time of the wedding. He was
 for burial.

There are curious discrepancies of the text in the
 passage about Sultanin which occur at Mencius, 181.

The first point to note is contained in the word
 'Her elder brother gave her in marriage to Sultan

marriage to Awiq. Haidar Mirza throws some light, and it seems that when Shaibani had murdered her brother, Mahmud Khan, Awiq left him and joined the Uzbek Qazaks his own people and Sultan-nigar followed him into Mughalistan.

She had two daughters by Awiq, one of whom married Abdullah Qachen and died a young wife, and the other married Rashid Sultan *Chahar'ar*.

On Awiq's death, Sultan-nigar was married to his brother Qasim presumably in consonance with the Turki custom of *yan'ah*.

With Qasim's death, the Guardianship of the *Qazaq* devolved on Sultan-nigar's stepson (*i.e.*, Awiq's by a co-wife) named Tahir. 'He was,' says Haidar, 'very much attached to her, and even preferred her to the mother who had given him birth.'

What follows is full of colour and feeling. Nigar Sultan showed her appreciation of Tahir's affection, but petitioned him saying: 'Although you are as my child, and I neither think of nor desire any son but you, yet I wish you to take me to my nephew Sultan Said Khan. For I am grown old, and I have no longer the strength to bear this wandering life in the deserts of Uzbekistan. Take me where I may enjoy some quiet and repose.' She then offered to mediate for him and to obtain the support for him of the Mughal khagans against his foes. Tahir accordingly escorted her to the Mughalistan borders, and with her waited upon Said. 'The latter, from love of his aunt, rose, saying that although his rising to receive Tahir was contrary to the rules of Chingiz (their common ancestor), yet that he did it out of gratitude because Tahir had brought his aunt.'

Sultan-nigar died of a hamorrhage in the summer of 931H (1528).

Mems., 13, 14, 30, 31, 99, 105

Tur. Rash., 1 & R., 8 n

CXCI Ulugh Begam (No 10)

Daughter of Zainab Sultān Begam , grand-daughter
of Sultān Abū-sa'id , first cousin of Bābar

Gul badan, 24b

CXCII Ulūs (Anūsh and Alūsh) āghā Turkomān (? No 59)

Turkī, *ālūs*, tribe Clearly a title

Daughter of Khwāja Husain Beg *Turkomān* of the
White Sheep, an amir of 'Umar Shaikh *Mīnān-shāhī* ,
wife of 'Umar Shaikh , mother of a girl who died in
infancy She was removed from the *haram* a year
or eighteen months after her marriage Gul-badan
mentions a begam of this name as at Hindāl's
wedding-feast, whether she is *Ulūs āghā* promoted, I
have no means of knowing

Mems , 14

Gul badan, 28a

CXCIII Ūmīd āghācha Andīānī

Pers *āmīd*, hope

An inferior wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā *Mīnān-shāhī* whom she predeceased She was the mother
of Mīhr-bānū who was two years older than Bābar
and will have been born therefore in 1481 , of Nāsir
who was born in 1487 , and of Shahī bānū who was
born in 1491

Mems , 10, 14.

CXCIV Umm-kulsūm Begam Mīnān-shāhī

A surname of Fātima, daughter of Muhammad ,
Ar *umm*, mother, and *kulsūm*, plumpness

Grand-daughter of Gul-badan Begam and a member
of the Haj of 988H

Albar nāma, III 145

CXCVIII Zainab-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī(?) From *Ar zain*, adorning

Fifth daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mirzā and Khān-zāda Begam (b) *Tirmizī*, first cousin and wife of Bābar

She was married at the instance of Qūt-līq-nigār, in the year of the capture of Kābul, i.e., 910H (1504-5), perhaps at the time that Jahāngīr Mirzā, Bābar's half-brother, married her half sister, Āq Begam. The marriage was not happy. Two or three years later Zainab died of small-pox.

Mems, 80

CXCIX Zainab-sultān Khānam Chaghatāi Muḡhal

— (No 19)

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Khān *Chaghatāi Muḡhal*, favourite wife of Sultān Sa'id Khān *Kāshgharī*, her first cousin, aunt of Shāh Muhammad Sultān whom *Muhammadi Barlās* put to death, mother of Ibrāhīm who was born 930H (1524), Sa'id's third son and favourite child, of Muḡsin, and of Mahmūd Yūsuf.

On her husband's death in 939H (July, 1533), she was banished by her stepson Rashīd, and went with her children to Kābul where she met Ḥaidar Mirza and where she was under the protection of Kamīan.

Gul-badan mentions her in the guest-list, and places her name as present at the Mystic Feast (1531), but this can hardly be right. She could easily have been at the marriage festivities in 1537.

Tār Rash, E & R, 146, 375, 383, 467

Gul badan, 11a, 24b

CC Zainab-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī

Gul-badan describes her as the paternal aunt or great-aunt (*'ama*) of Humāyūn. Bābar had no such sister, and no Zainab is mentioned by Gul-badan as a daughter of his grandfather Abū-sa'id. An Āq Begam,

however, is spoken of by her, and Zainab may be her personal name. Zainab had a daughter Ulugh Begam Gul badan, 24b

CCI Zainab-sultān Begam

There is a difficulty in identifying the begam of this name, whom Bābar mentions (Mems, 387) as coming to India. It will be seen by comparing the sources and their French and English interpretations

Mems, 387 'another, by name Zainab sultān Begam, the granddaughter of Bīkeh Chichām'

P de C, II 855 'et la petite fille de Yenga Tchetcham, autrement dite Zeineb sultān Begam'

B M Or, 3714, Pers, p 482 *ḍīgar nabīra yanga chichām*
ḥi Zainab sultān Begam būshad

Bodleian, Elliot, 19, f 180a *ḍīgar nabīra bega chichām ḥi Zainab sultān Begam*

Ilminsky, Turki text, 447 *yana, yanga chichām ḥi Zainab sultān Begam būlaghū'i nabīra sī kīlīb*

It seems safer to take Zainab as the name of Bābar's relation (i.e., the *yanga* of his *chicha*) than as that of the granddaughter (*nabīra*)

It may be observed here that the best authorities quoted above, i.e., Ilminsky, behind whom is Kehr, and Or, 3714, have *yanga* where Mī Eiskine and Elliot, 19, have *bega*. This exchange may occur in the case of other *begas* of this appendix. Until a good Turki text more complete than that in the B M is found, this must be left an open question.

If *Zainab* be taken as the name of the *yanga*, she may be identifiable with one of the other women already entered in the appendix, but for deciding this point more examples are necessary of Bābar's application of the word *yanga*.

Mems, 387

CCII Zobaīda aghācha Jalāir

The marigold, Ar *zubaida*

Grand-daughter of Husain Shaikh Timūr of the Shaibān Sultāns. According to the *Habibu-s-siyār*, she was a *Jalair*.

She was an inferior wife of Sultān Husam Mīrzā and the mother of Āyisha Begam. She predeceased her husband who died April, 1506.

CCIII Zuhra Begī and Āghā Uzbek

Ar *zuhra*, beauty, a yellow flower, the star Venus

An inferior wife of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā, mother of Makhdūma sultān Begam and of Sultān Ali Mīrzā.

She was married during the lifetime of Mahmūd's father, and therefore before Rajab 873H (January, 1469), and was widowed Rabī II, 900H (January, 1495). In 905H (1499-1500) she entered into an intrigue with Shaibānī, a fellow-tribesman, of which the ultimate aim was dominance in Samaiqand for her son Ali. A part of her scheme and offer was her own remarriage with Shaibānī. Babai stigmatizes her action as 'stupidity and folly,' and says, further, 'the wretched and weak woman, for the sake of getting herself a husband, gave the family and honour of her son to the winds. Nor did Shaibānī Khān mind her a bit, or value her even so much as his other handmaids, concubines, or women. Sultān 'Ali Mīrzā was confounded at the condition in which he now found himself, and deeply regretted the step he had taken. Several young cavaliers formed a plan for escaping with him, but he would not consent. As the hour of fate was at hand, he could not shun it. They put him to death in the meadow of Kulba. From his overanxiety to preserve this mortal and transitory life, he left a name of infamy behind him, and, from following the suggestions of a woman, struck himself out of the list of those who have earned for themselves a glorious name. It is impossible to write any more of the transactions of such a personage (? Zuhra), and impossible to listen any further to the recital of such base and dastardly proceedings.'

Mems, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34.

APPENDIX B.

Mahdī Khwāja

Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad has included in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* a story which he heard from his father Muhammad Muqīm *Ḥaṣḍwī*, and of which the purport is that Bābar's *Khalīfa* (Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Barlās*) had at one time thought of placing a certain Mahdī Khwāja on the throne in succession to Bābar.

Two circumstances cast doubt on the story (1) It was customary in Bābar's family for a son to succeed his father, (2) Bābar left four sons, the youngest of whom, Hindāl, was eleven years old.

Moreover, there were Timūrids both of the Bāyqā and Mīrān-shāhī branches in India with Bābar whose claims to a Timūrid throne would be strongly enforced.

But Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad has left us the story in circumstantial detail and it cannot be passed over unnoticed, and this the less because Gul-badan Begam throws some light on the identity of the Mahdī concerned, and also because in an important particular, *i.e.*, the relation of Mahdī to Bābar, I am able, through Mr Beveridge's study of the *Ḥabīb-us-siyār*, to give more accurate information than was at Mr Erskine's disposal.

The story was old when Nizāmu-d-dīn set it down and it is not necessary to accept all its details as exact. It is sufficient to consider its minimum contents which are, that in the royal household there had been a rumour of a plan of supersession of Bābar's sons by Mahdī Khwāja at the instance of Khalīfa.

The question naturally arises, who was the man

concerning whom such intention could be attributed to the wise and experienced *Khālifa*?

Nizāmu d dīn calls Mahdī Bābar's *damād*, and Mr Erskine, amongst other translators, has rendered this by son-in law. It is unnecessary to consider why any Mahdī Khwāja known in history should have been preferred to those sons in law who were of Bābar's own blood, because Gulbadan calls Mahdī Bābar's *yazna*. For this word the dictionaries yield only the meaning of 'brother-in law' and 'husband of the king's sister'. Both these meanings are also attributed to *damād*. But the *Halab* settles the verbal question by a statement that Mahdī Khwāja was the husband of Khān-zada Begam, Bābar's full sister.

It is not improbable that he had another close link with the Emperor, namely that of relationship to Maham Begam, but I am not yet able to assert this definitely.

Bābar never mentions Mahdī Khwāja's parentage. This is learned from Khwand amir who states that he was the son of Musa Khwāja and grand-son of Murtaza Khwāja. He was a *Sayyid*, and from the circumstance that his burial place was chosen as that of *Sayyid Abū'l-ma'ālī Jāmīzī*, it may be inferred that he belonged to the religious house of *Termiz*. If so, he had probably *Timurid* blood in his veins, since inter-marriage between the families was frequent.

Bābar mentions a Khwāja Musa who is perhaps Mahdī's father, in 911H, 1508. He immediately afterwards names Khwāja Muhammad 'Alī, Maham Begam's brother, in suggestive sequence.

Bābar's first surviving record of Mahdī is made in 925H (February, 1519) when 'Mir Muhammad Mahdī Khwāja' brings in a prisoner. It is in *ca.* 929H (1517) that Khwand amir speaks of the marriage of Mahdī and Khān-zada, but this is probably a good deal after the fact, because Khān-zada was returned to Bābar in 917H (1511).

Mahdī Khwāja, as Bābar invariably calls him after his first appearance, went to Hindūstān with Bābar and is frequently mentioned. It is significant of his high position and presumably not only by marriage but by birth, that on military duty he is always associated with men of royal blood, either Timūrid or Chaghatai. He is sometimes given precedence of them, and is never named last in a list of officers. Chīn-timūr *Chaghatai*, Muhammad Sultān Mirzā *Bāyqā*, Sultān Mirzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, and ‘Ādil Sultān are constantly associated with him. It seems clear that he was a great noble and ranked amongst the highest. Khāfi Khān calls him Sayyid Khwāja, and so does Khwāndamīr. Whether the ‘Khwāja’ indicates anything as to his mother’s marriage I am not able to say.

Khāfi Khān (I 42) has a passage which *may* relate to him. *Sultān Mirzā wa Mahdī Sultān binī a‘māmī* (of Bābar) *lī asī-i-ān juma‘ būdand khalās saht*. The date of the occurrence is *ca* 1511, the year in which another Mahdī, *i.e.*, *Uzbeq*, was killed by Bābar. Mr. Erskine appears to think that the two men, named here as released, were Hamza and Mahdī Sultans *Uzbeq*, but the sources do not give the style of Mirza to either of these chiefs. They appear to have had marriage connections with Bābar in an earlier generation, and a son of Mahdī seems to have been ‘Ādil Sultān (Mems, 363) who was father of ‘Āqil Sultān *Uzbeq* (*Albar-nāma*, I 221).

A Mahdī Khwāja who was undoubtedly of Bābar’s family, appears both in the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* and in Gulbadan Begam’s *Humāyūn-nāma*. He is the son of Āman, and grandson of Sultān Ahmad Khān *Chaghatai*, Bābar’s mother’s brother. But his age places him out of the question, he was about ten in 1530, and the hero of Nizamu d-dīn’s story strolled his beard, and was either a *damād* or a *yazna*. Mahdī

Chaghatai, moreover, reached India after Babar's death¹

The *Tabaqāt* states that Mahdī Khwāja had long been connected with Khāfī, the latter was himself a Sayyid

Nizāmu d dīn calls Mahdī a *yūvan* and Mr Irskine has accentuated all the faults and characteristics of youth in his version of the story. But Gulbadan calls Hindū an uninjured youth at thirty three, and there seems good ground to read often in *yūvan* the notion of vigour and strength rather than exclusively of fewness of years. In 1530 Mahdī had served Babar eleven known years

Like many other such small problems, that of the family connections of Mahdī Khwāja and the other men of his name may be solved by some chance passage in a less known author or by a closer consideration of the personages of the Memons

Mem. 255, 301 305 307 308 310 312 314 315 319 320
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Ubar nama s n. Aqil Sultan and Mahdī

Khāfī Khān, *Bib. Ind.* ed. s n

Habibū s sayar Khwānd amir under date cir. 923H

Cf. Index to this volume, s n Mahdī

¹ The rough estimate of Mahdī *Chaghatai* s age is made as follows. Humān was married to Haidar Mirza s cousin in 923H (1517). (*Tār. Rash.* F and R. 144 152). He had five sons by this wife (I.e. 144 and 101). Of these Masud is named as the eldest. The next are Khizr (Gulbadan s husband) Mahdī Ismā daulat (Habiba s husband) and another. Khizr is inferentially the second son, but if Mahdī were the second he could hardly have been born before 926H (1520). This would make him about ten in 1530 but he may have been younger and the third son, as is indicated by the enumeration of Haidar Mirzā

² At p. 424 Mr Irskine has an entry of a Sayyid Mahdī who arrives from Guāliār in July, 1529. That this is a misreading for Māshhadī is shown by collation with other texts than his own

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بود و نه افعالیان مکر و فریب داده یکی شده و منفی شده میرا همدال را
 کشت و اکثر جعناى ارسب میرا مانود شده و اهل و عیال مردم به سد
 رفت و بی ناموس شد * دیگر محال نماده که عیال و اطفال مردم من بعد
 ناب سد و عذاب (82b) ندارد و دیگرها بر حهم حان و مال و اهل و
 عیال مایان همه تصدق بکمار موئی حصرت * اس برادر بیست — اس دشمن
 حصرت است * سخن مختصر که همه جمع شده به اتفاق متحد شده عرص
 رسایند که — رحه گر ملک سرافگنده * و حصرت پادشاه در جواب
 فرمودند که اگر چه این سخا شمایان خاطر شار من می کند اما دل من
 می شود * همه فریاد بر آوردند و گسند که آنچه عرص رسایند شده است
 عین مصلحت است * آخر الامر حصرت فرمودند که اگر مصلحت و
 رضاسدی همه شمایان درس است پس همه شمایان جمع شوند و محصری نوسید *
 همه از پس و یسار امرایان جمع شده نوشته دادند بهمان مصراع را —
 رحه گر ملک سرافگنده * * محصر پادشاه هم ضرور شد *
 در بواجی رهناس که رسیدند به سید محمد حکم کردند که هر دو چشم
 میرا کامران را میل کشد * در ساعت رفت و میل کشید *
 حصرت پادشاه بعد از میل کشیدن **

END OF THE MS.

* This line is quoted by Daulat Shāh Cf Mr E G Browne's ed p 537

** The folio which follows in the MS (83a and 83b) has been conjecturally placed after 73b

مراحوال میررای سعید شهید گره و معانی کردند* و گلچهره یگم در حانه
قرا حان رفته بودند* وقتی که ایشان باز آمدند گویا قیامت شد قائم وار
گره و عم بسیار ایشان بیمار و حوی شدند*

ار بهادری میرزا کامران طالم بی رحم میرزا همدال شهید شدند* ار آن
رور باز دیگر نشیدیم که در کار و بار میرزا کامران رشدی شده باشد ملك
رور رور نزل کرد و اسر و صانع شد و سوعی رو بحرانی (81 b) آورد که
دیگر دولت میرزا کامران بار شد و کامرانی نکرد و گویا حیات میرزا کامران
ملك روشنائی چشم میرزا کامران مرزا همدال بود که از همان شکست که
گریمخته راست رفت در پیش شاه پسر شیرخان* او بکهرار روبه
داده و درس صص مرزا کامران عرض احوال نموده و کومك تولید* سلم
شاه در خواب میرزا بظاهر چیری نگفت اما در محیی گفته است که کسی
که برادر خود میرزا همدال را نکشد به آن کومك چموج توان داد* ملك
هیچو کسی را با بود کردن و معدوم ساختن بهر است* مرزا کامران اس
کنگاش سلیم خان را شید و مردم خود هم کنگایش نکرد و شی فرار را
مر خود قرار داده گریمخت و مردم میرزا حرم نداشتند* اسها ماندند*
سلیم خان که حرم شد اکثر مردم میرزا را در مدحانه حکم کرده و میرزا
کامران تا به بهیره و حوش آب رفته بود که در (82 a) همان حدود آدم
گهکهر صد و حمله و مکر در قید آورده پیش حضرت پادشاه آورد*
عاقبت الامر جمیع حوالم و سلاطین و وصیع و شرف و صعیر و کسر
و سپاهی و رعیت و غیره که از دست میرزا کامران داعها داشتند در آن
مجلس متفق شده عرض حضرت پادشاه رسانیدند که در پادشاهی و محکم
رسم برادری مطور می باشد* اگر خاطر برادر میخواهید ترك پادشاهی
نکند و اگر پادشاهی میخواهید ترك برادری نکند و اس همان میرزا کامران
است که از سب او در دشت قیماق سر مبارك ایشان چه نوع رحم رسیده

میدام که کدام طالعی بی رحمی آب حواں کم آرارآ نه بیع ظلم
 بیجان کرده * کاشکی بدل و دیده من ما سعادت یار پسر من (80b) یا
 محصر حواحه حان آن بیع بی دربع مرید * آه صد آه افسوس و دربع
 هراس دربع *

ای درعا ای درعا ای دربع آقام شد بیجان در ریر مع —
 عرض که مررا همدال در خدمت و دلسورئی محصر حان ساری
 کرد * میر ماا دوست مررا را برداشته در دولت خانه میرا آورد و هیچ
 کس اظهار نکرد و ساولان آورده در دروازه نشاند و گفت — هر که بیاید
 و برسد بگویند که رحیم مررا کاری است و حکیم محصرست که هیچکس
 نه در آید *

و عرض محصر پادشاه آمده رساند که میررا همدال رحمی شده
 اند * محصر پادشاه اسب طلیدید که رفته مررا را نه سم * مرعد الحی
 گفته که رحیم ایشان کارست و روس محصرت مناسب نیست * محصر
 فرمودند اند و هر چند که خود را خط کردند بواسطه و بیطافی نمودند *

حوساهی جاگر محصر حواحه حان بود * محصر محصر حواحه حان را
 طلبد فرمودند که مررا همدال را در حوساهی رُده امامت نگاه دارند *
 حان مَهارِ شررا گرفته نمراد و فعان و حرع و فرع کرده می روت (81a)
 که اس حررا محصر پادشاه شدند محصر حواحه گفته فرشادند که
 صر ناند کرد — دل من از نو پش می خورد اما از ملاحظه آن عیم حو محوار
 ظالم بیطافی می کم و حال آنکه او بردن کست غیر از صر چاره نیست *
 صد افسوس و سیجاره گی و درد رُده در حوساهی امامت گذاشتند *

مررا کامران ظالم برادرکش بیگانه برور بی رحم اگر آن شب می آمد
 اس بالا از آسمان بارل می شد * محصر پادشاه نکال خطا نوشتند * بخرد
 رسیدن اس خطا محواران گونا گونا می کابل تمام سرا ماسد شد و در و دیوار

هدال در ملارمتِ حصرت را می‌شدند * وقتی که به تنگیها بدولت و سعادت رفته برول احلال فرمودند (79b) و حاسوسان هر رماں هر ساعت حر می‌آوردند که میرا کامراں قرار داده است امشب شخون باید ربحت * میرا هدال آمده بعرضِ حصرت رسانیدند و کنگایش دادند که حصرت درس بلدی باشد و برادرم حلال الدس محمد اکبر پادشاه در ملارمت همراه باشد با درس بلدی مردم با احتیاط جوکی بدهد — و خود مردم خود را طلبند بهر کدام علیجده علیجده دلدارى و دلاسا کرده که — همه آن خدمتها بکطرف و خدمت امشب بکطرف اشا الله آنچه حسب المدعای شما یاست بهمون روش سر امرار خواهید شد * همه را حامحا نشاده و برای خود حیه حامه و طاقی و دلبه طلبیدند * نوشکی بچه را برداشته بود که شخصی عطسه رد * نوشکی بچه را ساعی بگاه داشت * چون معطل شد کسی را برای ماکید فرستادند * چون تاکید تمام آوردند خود پرسیدند که چرا معطل کردی ؟ نوشکی عرص کرد که بچه را برداشته بودم که شخصی عطسه رد — سار آن بچه را مار مادم و ارس (80a) سب معطل شد * فرمودند که عاظ کردی نکو اشا الله شهادتِ مارك باشد — و مار گفتند — یاراں همه گواه باشد که ار جمع جبرهای حرام و ارافعال های ناشایسته توبه کردم * حاصران فاحه خواندند و مارك ناد گفتند * فرمودند — بیچه حامه حیه بیار * پوشیدن در بیش حلق رفتند و سپاهیان مردانگی و نسلی دادند * درس اشا طنجی مررا هدال آوار میررارا که شنیدند فریاد برآورد که مرا به شمشیر گرفتند * میرا بحرّد شنیدن ار اسب فرور آمده و بدو گفتند — یاراں اس ار مردانگی دور است که طنجی ما را در نه شمشیر بگیرد و ما کومک نکیم * و خود در حلق فرود آمدند و سپاهیان هیچکدام ار اسب فرود نه آمدند و میرا دو مار ار حلق برآمدند و حمله ها کردند * در همان ترّدّد شهادت شدند *

و عاسه سلطان سگم و دولت تحت آعاجه گریحه محاسب قدهار
 مرسد که از نکه چهار مردم پادشاهی گرفته آوردند (۷۸۱) و سررا کامران
 به افعانان همراه شد در مبار افعانان می بوده *

و حضرت پادشاه کلاه کاهی بدین ناع تاریخ مرسد * در آن سال
 بر دستور سابق بدین تاریخ در سنگیا رفت و سررا همدال در ملازمت
 بودند و از حرمان بیگانه یکم و حمد نامو یکم و ماه چوچک سگم و غیره
 اکثر حرمان همراه بودند * و سرس سعادت باز در آن روزها سار بود
 سار آن می سواسم رفت * روزی در یواچی سگها حضرت پادشاه در شکار
 بودند و سررا همدال در ملازمت بود * سار شکار خوب بود * طریقی که
 سررا شکار رفت بودند حضرت هم آن طرف آمدند * سررا شکار بسیاری
 کردند * سررا دستور حکمر حان ۵۰ شکار خود را بحضرت مشکش کردند
 که در نوره حکمر حان رسم حسن است که خوردان به سررگان خود حسن
 بخش می آید * عرص ۴۰ شکارهای خود را مشکش حضرت کرده * بعد
 از آن به خاطر سررا رسد که حصه خواهران هم نماید (۷۹۱) باز خواهران
 کله بکشد * باز دیگر شکار یکم که برای خواهران حصه برم * سررا باز
 شکار معد شد اند * بکاره شکار کرده برگه می آید که سررا کامران
 کسی را معین کرده بودند آن کس سر را مرا گرفته و سررا ارس عافل
 سری رد و آن سر به کعب مبارک ایشان رسد — از ملاحظه آنکه مادا
 خواهران می با حرمان می شد سطاغی بکشد * فی الحال بوشه فرساید
 که — سر رسد بود بالائی ولی بحر گذشت * شماان خاطرها خود را
 جمع دارند که می بصحت و عافیت همنم * عرص هوا که گرم شد حضرت
 برگه بکامل آمدند و مدب بکمال گذشت رحم سر میفرشد *

بعد از بکمال خبر آمد که سررا کامران باز جمعیت کرده اسعداد
 جنگ دارد * حضرت سر سامان جنگ نموده موجه سنگیا شدند و سررا

سلیمان و (77b) میرا ابراهیم آمد حصرت را ملازمت کردند و حصرت تکامل رفتند و میررایان در دولتیخواهی بکذل و بکجهه شده در ملازمت بودند که میرا کامران موحه شدند * حصرت پادشاه محرم بیکم گفته فرستادند که کلیں را بگوئید که برودی رود لشکر و مردم بدحشاں را سامان نموده فرستید و بکم در اندک روز اندک فرضی چند هزار کس را اسب و براق دادند و اهام و سامان نموده و بمهره خود تا کوبل آورده و از آنجا لشکر را پیش فرستادند — خود مراجعت نمودند و لشکر مذکور آمد بحصرت پادشاه ملحق شد * در چارکاران یا قراناع میرا کامران جنگ شد لشکر حصرت غالب آمد و فتح کردند و میرا کامران را شکست دادند * میرا کامران گریحه به تنگها و لمعات رفت *

و آق سلطان که داماد میرا کامران بود گفته باشد که شما دایم بحصرت هایون پادشاه مخالفت پیش می آئید — چه معنی دارد ؟ مناسب نیست — یا اطاعت و فرمان برداری حصرت بکنید یا مرا (78a) رحصت بدهید که مردم از ما نماند * میرا کامران به آق سلطان درشی کرده گفت که کار من بحای رسد که نو من بصیحت کی * آق سلطان هم از روی درشی گفت اگر من در پیش شما باشم حلال من حرام باشد * و آق سلطان همان رمان خدا شد در بکهر رفت و بکوچ خود همراه شد بود که فرمان میرا کامران شاه حسین میرا رسید که آق سلطان ما را ربحانید رفته است * اگر در آنجا آمد باشد او را بگذراید که به ری خود همراه شود و کوچ او را ارو خدا سارید و او را بگوئید که هر حامیخواهی برو * بجزد رسید فرمان شاه حسین میرا حبیه بیکم را از تصرف آق سلطان خدا ساخته و سلطان را بمکه معطیه رحصت کرده *

در همان جنگ چارکاران قراچه حان و اکثر مردم بانی میرا کامران کشته شدند *

بهرارس (76b) بیافند که خود را بگوشت نکشد * ابوالقاسم میرا پسر خود را پش میرا عسکری فرستادند و عایشه سلطان بیگم دحر خود را میرا کامران همراه گرفته بحای طالبان مروت و حام کوح میرا کامران بود * ناو گفند که شما ودختر شما ارعوب بیائید * در هر جا که قرار حوام گرفت شما را حوام طلبید * اما ما آن رمان شما در حوست و اندراب رفته نشید * حام مذکور با حایان اورنگ قراست داشت * در میان آن اورنگان ار حوشار آن بوده نه اورنگان معلوم کرده و فهمایند که اگر عرص او بچه است مال و داه و علام دارم سرید و صغارا گذارند که برادر راده عایشه سلطان حام اگر فردا شود ار شما البته حواهد ربحد * بعد مکر و حيله و بعد حیرانی و بی سامانی ار مید اورنگ خلاص شد در حوست و اندراب رسید در آنجاها می بودند *

و میرا کامران ار شکست بلخ اطلاع یافته که حصرت در باره من چنانچه ملعت بودند هستند و ار کولاب (77a) برآمد بهر طرف می گشت * در اس اثنا حصرت ار کامل برآمد بطرف دشت قبیچاق که رسیدند عاقل در حائی پشت فرود آمد بودند که میرا کامران ار حای بلدی بیکار مسلح و مکمل شد آمد بر سر دشمنان حصرت ربحند * چون حواست آلهی جین بود بک کور باطن گردن شکسته طالم سمکار بدخت نابکار بحصرت پادشاه رحم انداخت و سر مارک ایشان رسید و تمام پیشانی و چشمهای مارک ایشان بخوب آلوده شد بود * بطرفی که در حگ معلولان سر مارک حصرت فردوس مکانی نار پادشاه معولی رحم رده و طاقی و دستار برید نشد اما سر مارک ایشان محروح شد — حصرت هانوی پادشاه دایم نعمها می نمودند و می گفتند که عجب سراسر است که طاقی و دستار برید نشود و سر رحم رسد * عرص سر مارک ایشان هم همان طور شد * حصرت بعد ار شکست دشت قبیچاق به بدحشان رفتند و میرا همدال و میرا

حاج حیر میرا همدال را محضرت آورد که بصحت و سلامت در قندور رسیدند * اس حررا که حضرت شدند بسیار خوشحال شدند *

و میرا سلیمان را بحای خود که قلعه طبر باشد رحصت کردند و خود تکامل آمدند * میرا کامران که در کولات بودند تر حان بیگه نام عوری عیار مکاره بود میرا کامران راه نموده که به حرم سگم اظهار عاشقی نکسید که درس مصلحتنیاست * میرا کامران هم نگفته آن ناقص العفل حطی و روباکي بدست سگی آغا محرم بیگم فرستادند * اس عورت حط و روباک را برده پنش حرم سگم بیاد و ملازمت میرا کامران و اشتیاق سار اظهار کرد * حرم بیگم گفت که حالا اس حط و روباک را نگاه دارید هرگاه میرایان از بیرون بیایند اس حط و روباک را ببارند * بیگی آغا در پی گره و راری و ملازمت که میرا کامران اس حط و روباک شما فرستاده و مدتیاست که شما عاشق است و شما اس نامت می مروی می کید * حرم بیگم (76a) بیاد اعراض و شدت تمام نموده فی الحال میرا سلیمان و میرا ابراهیم را طلبید گفت که میرا کامران با مردی های شما را دانسته است که من همچو حطی نوشته واقع که من لاش اس بودم که مرا جبین بوسد * میرا کامران برادر کلان بوماند و من بحای کلی اشان باشم * مرا اس نامت حطی فرسد * بگرد و اس رنگه را پاره پاره سارید با مرد دیگران عرت شود و هیچکس بر اهل و عیال کسی بچشم بدجال فاسد نکند و ار رن آدمی راده چه ماسک که همچو چهرهای مالا بق بیارد و ار من و سر من نرسد * و فی الحال بیگی آغا بیسی دولت حون گروم را پاره پاره کردند و میرا سلیمان و میرا ابراهیم اس حقه میرا کامران بد شدند بلکه دشمن شدند و محضرت نوشتند که قصد مخالفت دارد و مخالفت اس صریح تری باشد که در جبین نوحه بلخ در ملازمت همراه رفته * بعد از آن میرا کامران در کولات از نوهم هراسید هیچ علاقی

سر محمد خان در بلخ بود و در همان روز اول مردم بر محمد خان
 برآمدند جنگ صب کردند * لشکر پادشاهی غالب آمد و مردم بر محمد
 خان شکست خورده در شیر در آمدند * صاحب آن بر محمد خان فرار
 داده بود که جمعی رور است — من می توانم جنگ کرد — پیر است که
 برآمدن روم — که امرايان پادشاهی یکی عرض رساند که بورت چرخش شده
 است — اگر ارس مرل بر حواسه دشت مرل نماید مناسب است *
 حضرت حکم فرمودند چنان بکشد * معز که دست به بار و بارخانه بیاورد
 دیگر مردم بلا خوف شدند و چند کس مادی کرد مردم کسی س بیامد *
 چون خواست آلبی حسین و د بی حینه عثم و عرب و بی واسطه مردم
 را می شدند * به اورنگ حر رسد که لشکر پادشاهی کوچ کرد * اورنگ
 در عقب شد و ساولان پادشاهی هر چند که سعی کردند به ریزه پاس به
 آمدند (77a) و جمع کردن شدند * مردم را می شدند * حضرت مدنی اسلادند *
 آخر دیدند که کس نماید * ضرور شد حضرت هم روان شدند و مررا
 عسکری و مررا مدال را حر بود که لشکر پادشاهی برهم خورده است *
 اسما سوار شده شدند آمدند — دیدند که در لشکرگاه کسی نماند و اورنگ
 در پی برآمدن است * اسما بر طرف قدور را می شدند * حضرت اندک
 را می آمدن بودند که اسلادند و گسند که برادران ما حال به آمدند * من
 چطور بنس روم * به بعضی امرا و عثم که در ملازمت بودند فرمودند که
 کسی باشد که از مررايان حر ببارد * هیچکس جواب نداد و رفت *
 بعد از آن از قدور از مردم مررا حر آمد — عرض داشت کرده اند که
 شدند شد که شکست واقع شد — نداستم که بکدام طرف رفت * اس
 خط که بدست حضرت افراد بسیار بی طاقی کردند * حضر حواحه خان
 گنه اگر حکم شود من حر بیارم * پادشاه فرمودند — رحمت ماد — اشا
 الله باشد که مررا قدور رفه باشد * بعد از (77b) دو روز حضر حواحه

وحرگاهى كه بهمان حرگاه حميد نايو بيگم آمدن نشيپند * بعد از نماز
پيشين تا اسپان را آوردن ميان دو نماز شد * درس طور وقت تشریف
بردند * در دامن كوه هر جا رواج برگ برآورده بود در آن درها گشت
وسير ميكردند كه شام شد * در همان جا چادر و حرگاه برپا كرده آمدن
نشيپند * آن شب در آنجا بيرعبيت و عشرت هم گذرايديم و مايان هم
در ملازمت آن قلعه حقيقي بوديم * صبح وقت نماز يروون تشریف بردند —
و از يروون به بيگه بيگم و حميد نايو بيگم و ماه چوچك بيگم و بمن و بهمه
بيگان علحد خط نوشتند كه نگاه خود قابل شده عذرخواهى بوشيد *
انشاء الله در فرصه يا در استايليف حيرباد كرده متوجه لشكر حواهم شد
و اگر نه (74a) مُحدا (مُحدا) سپرديم * آخر هم عذرخواهى نوشته بخدمت
افدس اشرف فرستادند * عاقبت الامر حصرت و هم بيگان سوار شده از
لهمان به بهرادي آمديم و شب هر كس عمرل خود رفت و صبح آن طعام
بوش حان كردند و نماز پيشين سوار شده فرصه آمدند *

حميد نايو بيگم بحايه مايان نه به گوسپد فرستادند — و بك رور پيشترك
ببى دولت تحت در فرصه آمدن بود و خوردنى وافر و شير و حشرات و
شيره و شرمت و غير طيار كرده بودند * آن شب عبث گذرايد صبح بر
مالاي فرصه ثرترا ب حوست * آرا (fault) استايليف رفته و سه رور
ديگر در استايليف بودند و بعد از آن كوچ كرده در سه بهصد و بچاه^{۹۵۸}
هشت متوجه بلخ شدند *

و از كويل كه گذشتند ميرزا كامران و ميرزا سليمان و ميرزا عسكرى
فرمانهاى طلب فرستادند كه ما متوجه حنك اوربك شديم و وقتى نكفتى
و برادر يست مى بايد كه سرعت تمام برسيد * ميرزا سليمان و ميرزا
عسكرى آمدن (74b) محصرت ملحق شدند * كوچ به كوچ متوجه شده به
بلخ رسيدند *

مہتاب بود * حرف و حکایات کردہ * (MS 83a) میرفتند وحاش
 آعاجہ وطریف گوند و سروسہی وشام آعا آہسہ آہستہ رفت ** می گسند *
 تا کہ بلعیاں رسیدند حیمہ و حرکا و بارگاہ پادشاہی و چادرہای بیگماں
 ہور یامد بود * در آنوقت چادرِ مہر آمر آمد بود * حصرت و ہمہ
 مایاں و حیمہ مانو بیگم بیر در ہماں چادر در ملازمتِ حصرت با دو بہر
 وسہ گہری شب نشپہ بودم * آخر در چادر مذکور در ملازمتِ آن قلہ
 حقیقی خواب کردم — وصاح میخواستند کہ رفہ در کوہ رواج را نہ بید *
 چون اسپاں بیگماں در دیہ بودند با آمدنِ اسپاں وقتِ سرگذشت * حکم
 کردند کہ در بیرون اسپِ ہرکس کہ باشد بیارند * اسباں را کہ آوردند
 فرمودند سوار شوید *

سگہ بیگم و ماہ چوچک سگم ہور سروبا می نوشیدند * من محصرت
 عرض کردم کہ اگر حکم شود من رفہ آنہارا بیارم * فرمودند — رودتر
 برو و بیار * من نہ سگم و ماہ چوچک بیگم و عرہ حرماہای دنگر گم —
 سدہ سِر حصرت شوم — چہ بالا اسطار میدہد * اسہارا بمعصلی تمام
 می آوردم (MS 83b) کہ حصرت ار روبروی ما شرف آوردند و
 فرمودند — کلدن حالا خود وقتِ سیرگذشت با نہ آہا رسیدن ہوا
 گرم حواہد شد — اشنا اللہ تعالیٰ ہمار پیشین را ادا کردہ حوام رفت *

* (کرد) It seems to me that in binding the MS in India, fol 83 has been misplaced and that it should follow at this point where its contents are *a propos* The catchwords are wanting on it and on 74a

This emendation has been made only since the preparation of my article on Gulbadan Begam (Calcutta Review, April 1898) and contradicts and modifies some statements of that article

The account of the journey to Laghmān (fol 83) is appropriate here and is out of-place in the story of Kīm-rān's blinding and of Humīvūn's subsequent movements

It is possible that another page also is missing and that the quiet singing was not on the road.

* (نفس) Ar naqs, an air with its variations (Pavet de Courteille)

مردم عجب شوق و خوشحالی روی داده بود — چرا که اکثر امرایان و نوکران هم خویش و برادر یکدیگر بودند از مهر خدای صاحبان خود آنها هم از یکدیگر جدا نماندند و همه خوشحال و شادمان بودند * خوشحالی تمام میگذاشتند *

و از بدحشان که آمدند یکم سال در کابل بودند * بعد از آن عزم حرم بلخ نمودند و در باغ دلکشنا منزل فرمودند و دولتخانه حضرت را در پایان باغ مذکور روبرو برپا کردند و بیگمیان در حویلی کلی بیگم چون بردیک بود آنجا فرود آمدند * حضرت بار عرص رسانیدند که ایا رواج چنور می برآمد باشد * حضرت فرمودند — چون که بشکر میروم براه کوه دامن روم تا شمایان برآمد رواج را به ببیند * بار دیگری بود که حضرت سوار شد در باغ دلکشنا آمدند و حویلی کلی بیگم که بیگمیان در آن بودند بردیک بود و آنجا سرکوب بود *

حضرت آمدن اسلادند * بیگمیان همه دیدند و درخواستند (78b) و کورش کردند — و بعد کورش کرد بیگمیان حضرت بدست مبارک خود اشتهارت کردند که بیاند * فخر السامان و افغانی آغاچه بیشترک میرسد — و در دامن کوه باغ دلکشنا حویلی بوده است * افغانی آغاچه از حویلی مذکور نتوانست گذشت و افغانی آغاچه از اسب افتاد * از برای آن ساعتی معطل کردند * آخر الامر بعد از ساعتی بملازمت اشرف اقدس مشرف گشتیم و ماه چوچک سگم ما دانسته اسپش اندک بلند رفت * از برای آن حضرت بسیار اعراض کردند — باغ مذکور در بلندی بود و هور دیوارها نکرده بودند * درس اثنا در چهره مبارک حضرت کلمی پدید آمد * فرمودند که شمایان بروید و من امیون حورده واس کلمت را بسکین داده خواهم آمد * مایان فرموده حضرت اندک راهی رفته بودیم که حضرت شرف آوردند * در واقع کلمت مالکلیه بر طرف شد و خوشحال و فرحناک آمدند * شب

و قاضی دلترا را بررا سلطان دادند و مدعا را بررا همدال و طالبان را بررا
عسکری عتاب فرمودند *

روزی در کتب حربه دوخته و دند و اجتماع برادران شد. حضرت
هماون پادشاه و بررا کوران و بررا عسکری و بررا همدال و بررا
سلطان *

بعد از آنکه در ازبک حضرت پادشاه ششده اند فرمودند که آنگاه
که ای سارده که دست ششده همه نکما ملعام عورم * حضرت پادشاه
دست ششده و را که بران دست ششده سال حبس بررا عسکری و
بررا همدال بران مان کانی بودند * همه ششده آنگاه و حلالی هر دو
برادران سی بران مان دادند و بعد از دست ششده بررا سلطان
سی خودر حریکی سی کرده بررا عسکری و بررا همدال ساردرش
ششده آمد (۲۰۱) و بعد که ای حریکی روسی کرسب * او را مان حری
بعد دار که در * عور * حضرت پادشاه دست ششده * اما چون عتاب
فرمودند و حکم و دند سواسم هر حکم کرد * ای اندای سی حلالی حری
معنی دارد * آخر بررا عسکری و بررا همدال بروی بر آند دست ششده
آنگاه سسده و بررا سلطان سار شرمده شد * و همه درک دسار حان
ملعام خودر دند و حدیث درن مان اس حدرا یاد فرمودند و به برادران
خود ششده اند که در لغور کلدن سسده ششده بودند که ای آرو دارم که
همه برادران را نکما * سم وار صاحب که ششده ام مان حری عبا طرم
میرد اشانه عالی جمعیت مارا حری سسده عالی در امان خود دارد *

بعدا روشن است که در عصر من اس سسده که ران مسلمانان عظم حری
آنگاه ران برادران را می مانده مائیم — اشانه عالی همه شیخان حدای
عالی مان و بی کرامت کند که موافق و نکمیه باشد (۲۱۶) و در مان

* (مدعا را) So too Tahir Kunduz appears right

حوشالی تمام شب در یکرمان صلاح شد. ماه چوچک بیگم و حاش آغا و حرمان که در لشکر همراه حصرت آمده بودند در مابیم *

و وقتی که حصرت به بدحشان رسید ماه چوچک بیگم دختر رانیدند * در همان شب حصرت در خواب دیدند که محرالسا مامام و دولت تحت هر دو ار در در آمدند و چیری آوردند و پیش من گذاشتند * هر چند تفکر کردند فرمودند که تعبیر آن چه باشد * آخر در خاطر رساییدند که چون دختر شده است از نام هر دو یکی سا و از دیگری تحت بطریق اختصار تحت سا بیگم نام نهادند *

ماه چوچک بیگم چهار دختر و دو پسر رانیدند. تحت سا بیگم و سکیه نانو بیگم و امه نانو (71b) بیگم و محمد حکم مررا و فرج فال میرا. و وقتی که حصرت متوجه هندوستان شدند ماه چوچک سگم حامله بودند * در کامل پسر رانیدند. فرج فال مررا نام نهادند * و بعد از چند گاه از حاش آغا پسر تولد شد. ابراهیم سلطان مررا نام نهادند * و مدت یکسوم سال کامل بدولت و سعادت در کامل بعثت و عشرت گذرایندند *

و میرا کامران که از کامل فرار نمودند بحال بدحشان رسید و در طالقان می بودند. و حصرت در آورته نایع می بودند * صلاح که بیمار رحاستند خبر شد که اکثر امرای میرا کامران که در ملارمت حصرت بودند گریخته رفتند. از جمله قراچه خان و مصاحب خان و مارر خان و نایوس و اکثر با مرادان شب گریخته به بدحشان رفتند و عمررا کامران ملحق شدند * حصرت در ساعت یک متوجه بدحشان شدند و مررا کامران را در طالقان محاصره کردند *

بعد از چند گاه مررا کامران اطاعت و فرمان برداری قبول کرده و آمدند حصرت را (72a) ملارمت کرده * کولاب را حصرت عمررا کامران دادند

شسته آب لیمو و هفت بوقور پارچه وجد بیه دوحه فرستادند و نوشتند که از حقه ایشان می توانم بقلعه رور آورد که مادا دشمنان ایشان نوعی دیگر بش آند *

و در آن اناام چهار سلطان بیگم دو ساله شده در همان قتل فوت شد و می نوشتند که اگر بقلعه رور آورم رمای مرا محمد اکبر پنهان خواهد کرد * عرض داشتم در مالای حصار مردم از مار شام ناصح حاصر باش و عوعا داشتند * شنی که مرا اکبران مگر برید مار شام گذشت بلکه جنس شد که (70b) هیچ عوعای ظاهر نشد — و کوبلی بود که از آنجا مردم پان ساله می برآمدند * در آن جنس مردم شهر آرام و سکنی نافع بود که بیکار آوار حسه و حوش ورره برآمد که بهمدنگر حر کردم که علو می نماید * در پیش حلوحانه قرب هزار کس اساده باشد * ماان هم در وهم بودم سکار بی حر برآمدند و پسر قراچه حان بهادر حان آمد حر کردند که میرا فرار نموده و حواحه معطرا از راه دنوار ریسما انداحه بر آوردند *

و مردم ماان و بیگما و عوع که در بیرون بودند و دری که مالای ماان برآورده بودند واکردند * بیگه بیگم مالهه کردند که بروم محایهای خود * من گفتم که رمای صرکید — از راه کوچه باید رفت و شاید که از پیش حصر هم کسی آید — که درس صص عسراطر آمد و گفت که حصر فرموده اند که ما من سام از آن حاینها برآند * رمای گذشته بود که حصرت آمدند و نه دلدار بیگم و من دریافند بعد از آن نه سکه بیگم و سمین ماو بیگم دریافتند و فرمودند که رودارس (71a) حانه برآید که دوستان را خدا ارس نور حانه نگاه دارد و نصیب دشمنان شود * ساطر فرمودند که در يك طرف تو باش و در يك طرف بر دی سگ حان باشد و بیگما را نگذراند * آخر هم آمدند و آن شب در ملازم حصرت بودم — وار

بدست مردم پادشاهی اسیر شدند و دستگیر گشتند و آن حصرت بعضی را
کشید و بعضی را در بند کردید * ار آن میان خوکی حاکم که ار امرايان میرا
کامران بود او بیر بدست افتاد *

حصرت پادشاه و میرا همدال در ملازمت حصرت فتح و فیروزی
شادیا نه بواجتد و نکوکه و دنده در عقیاب در آمدید — وار برای خود
حیمه و حرگاه و بارگاه برپا کردید * و میرا همدال را مورچال پلِ مستان
عین نمودید و نامرايان هرچا هرچا مورچال عین کردید *

با مدّت هفت ماه محاصره داشتند * ار قصابك روری (69b) میرا
کامران ار حویلی در دالان میروند که شخصی ار عقیاب نمک انداخت
وایشان دوند خود را در کماره گرفتند و اگر پادشاه را گفتند که در روبرو
برده نگاه دارید * آخر مردم بعرض اقدس اشرف رسانیدند که میرا محمد
اکرا را در روبرو نگاه داشته اند * حصرت فرمودند که نمک نه اندازید *
بعد ارس مردم پادشاهی در بالای حصار نمک می انداختند وار شهر
کابل مردم میرا کامران عقیاب در لشکر حصرت نمک می انداختند —
و مردم پادشاهی میرا عسکری را در برابر روبرو استاده می کردند و سپاهیان
پادشاهی شوحی میسودند و مردم میرا کامران هم ار قلعه برآمدن حگ
میکردند وار حاقین مردم کُشه می کشید * اکثر مردم حصرت غالب
می آمدند — دیگر ار قلعه دلیر می برآمدند — و حصرت ار ملاحظه عیال
و اطفال و بیگمان و مردم و حرمان و جماعه دیگر توب و صرب حگ می
انداختند — و محابها (70a) اب را سگ می کردند *

چون محاصره بدور درار انحامشد حواجه دوست حاوید مدار بچه را در
پنش حصرت فرسادی که ار برای خدا میرا کامران هرچه التماس می کند
قول فرماید و بندهای خدا را ار محبت خلاص نکند *

حصرت ار سرون ار برای ایشان نه گوسند و هفت شش گلاب و يك

عسکری و سررا شدال برادران من اند اشان بیر برادر من اند که اس
ووب مدد است * من در جواب ایشان گفتم که حصر حواجه حان سواد
ندارد که خط مرا بنماید و من هرگز خود به نوشته ام * در بیرون ار رمان
فریدانش می نویسد — هرچه بخاطر شما برسد بنویسد * آخر الامر مهدی
سلطان را و شرعی را بطلب حان فرسادی و من در اوائل گسه بودم حان
که برادران بنوشش سررا کامران می باشد — مادا بوم حال آن کی
و بنش اشان (۶۹۱) روی و به برادران خود ملحق شوی — ربهار الف
ربهار که از حصرت جدای را حال بکی * باری شکر الحمد الله سوعی که
دنه بودم حان هم تاور به نمود — و حصرت پادشاه که شنیدند که مهدی
سلطان و شرعی را سررا کامران بآوردن حصر حواجه حان فرساده حصر
بفرستیدند بدر سررا حاجی را بطلب حصر حواجه حان فرسادی *

در آن اوان حان در حاجی خود بود * گسه فرسادی — ربهار الف
ربهار که سررا کامران ملحق شود — در ملازم ما سائید * آخر حصر
حواجه حان بمرد شدن اس حر و بیعام فرج احام موجه درگاه فلک
مارده است و در عیال آمد ملازم کرد *

آخر حصرت از مار که گذشت درس اما شرافت بدر شیرویه را
سررا کامران برسد داده و برسد کرده تمام لشکر خود همراه کرده بنش
فرسادی که ربه حاکم کد * مانا ار بالا مددم که او ناره رده ار
بنش مانا دسی مکدشت و مانا میگیم که خدا نصیب نکند که (۶۹۲)
بوره حاکم کی و گره میگردم *

آخر چون در برابر دنه افعان که رسد و فراوان روبرو که شدید
بمرد روبرو شدن فراوان حصرت پادشاه فراوان بررائی را برداشت و
اکثر دسکر کرده بنش حصرت آوردند * حصرت حکم کردند بمعاون
که آنها را باره ناره کردند و اکثر مردم سررا کامران که بحدک ربه بودند

حرم گذاشته بودند * میرزا کامران پرسیدند که بر بالای حصار کیست ؟ یکی گفته باشد که نوکار است — و این حررا نوکار شیک در همان ساعت لباس رابه پوشید برآمد بود که مردم میرزا کامران دربانان حصار را گرفتند و پیش میرزا کامران بردند * ایشان فرمودند که در بند نکید (67b) بعد ارس مردم میرزا کامران بالای حصار رفتند و اشیاء و اسباب بی شمار اهل حرم بالا و باراج کرده در سرکار میرزا کامران صط و ربط نمودند و یگمان کلان را در حانه میرزا عسکری شناسد * و در آن خانه را ار حشت و گنج و ماس * مسدود ساختند — و از بالای چهار دیواری خانه مذکور سنگان را آب و طعام می دادند * و در حانه که میرزا یادگار ناصر می بودند حواحه معظم را شناسد — و در محلی که حرمان حضرت و یگمان دیگر بودند در آن محل اهل و عیال خود را فرمودند — و اهل و عیال و اطنان سپاهانی که گریخته در ملازم حضرت رفته بودند به آنها سیار بد پیش آمدند — و حانه هر کدام آنها را ناراج و بالا کردند — و اهل و عیال هر کدام را یکی سپردند * چون استماع نمودند که میرزا کامران از نکهز آمدن چنین کارها کردند حضرت بار از قلعه طغر و اندراب بدولت و سعادت متوجه کابل شدند و قلعه طغر میرزا سلیمان عنایت فرمودند *

چون حضرت سواجی کابل رسیدند میرزا (68a) کامران حضرت والد را و مرا از حانه طلبیدند و حضرت والد را حکم کردند که در حانه قوریکی باشد — و مرا گفتند که اس هم حانه شناسد — همین جا باشید * من گفتم که برای چه اسما شام — در حای که والد من خواهد بود من بر آنجا حوام بود * ایشان در جواب من گفتند که پس شما محصر حواحه حان حلی نویسد که آمدن ما ملحق شود و خاطر جمع دارد — نوعی که میرزا

* Armenian, cakes of dung The word is current in Turki The translation should read "He closed the door of that house" &c

مرو و مرکه خوب کدراسند و مردمان حلقه های فاحر و سروپاهای
و امر غالب میروند * و مردم رعیت و علما و صلحا و مغرا و عربا و شرف
و وضع و صغر و کبر در امست و رفا و ورع و عیش و شرب
ملاکدراسند *

و بعد از آن موجه قلعه طبر شد و در قلعه مذکور مررا سلمان
بود * برای حدت برآمد * چون مقابل شد مقاومت نداشتند کرد
و مررا را سر خود قرار دادند * و حضرت مادشاه بدولت و ساعدت در
قلعه طبر در آمدند * و در کم مادشاه خود شرف داشتند *

در آن روز آنکه شوش در وجود سارک انان غالب شد و صاحب آن
روبر حب نامند و شوش خود که آمد و اتصال بدت برادر مع حلرا
نکایل فرستاد که سرو و مردم کلبی را سلی و دلداری داده نوعی
دلجوی اسان بکنی که سرهم بخورد و باو ^{۷۸} رسیده بود بلذنی ولی سحر
گشت *

بعد از روی و میل بدت (۷۶) نکایل بکروور منشرک نکایل ره
بود و ار نکایل حیر دروچ در بکیر سررا که مران رسد مررا کامران در
ساعت ار بکیر اناعار کرده موجه کابل مشود و در وقتی که راهد سکرا
آمد کشد و موجه کابل شد *

و در سحری بود که مردم کابل غافل بودند و درواریها را بدسورسان
کشادند و مردم آب کش و غلب کش و عره بی در آمدند و می برآمدند که
همراه همون مردم عام در قلعه درآمدند و محمد علی معائی را که در حمام
بوده بی الحال کشد — و در مدرسه ملا عبد الحامی فرور آمدند *

وقتی که حضرت سحاب قلعه طبر شرف می بردند بیکررا مردی

در سربینی که آمده راهد بیکرا — I propose to read here (در) *
which agrees with other sources گشتند

و اکثر اوقات معرکه و مجلس بود و شها با صلاح می نشستند و ساردها و گوندها دایم در یوارش بودند * و اکثر ساط شاط ناری میکردند — ار آن حمله — دوارده کس بودند بهر کس بیست ورق بیست ورق و بیست بست شاهرجی میدادند و کسی که پای میداد همین بست شاهرجی پای میداد که بهج مثقالی باشد و اگر می برد هر چند که ناری میکردند زیاده می بردند *

و مردم که در جنگ چوسه و کوج و بکهر و در آن فطراها در توده حصرت کشته و حسته کشته بودند بیوها و یتیمان و اهل و عیال آن جماعت را و طبعه و رانه و آب و زمین و قلعه عانت می فرمودند و مردم سپاهی و رعیت و غیره را بسیار اسودگی و فراعته در انام دولت حصرت روی داد * همیشه فراعته میگدرایند و بحال درائی حصرت اکثر بافچه حیرت قیام و اقدام (66 a) می نمودند *

بعد از چند روز بعدها برای طلب حمید مابو بیگم کسان فرستادند * بعد از آمدن حمید مابو بیگم حلال الدس محمد آکر پادشاه را حبه سور کردند و اسباب طوی ست را طیار میکردند * و بعد از نورور هفت ده روز هانوی میکردند و لباسهای سر می پوشیدند و قریب سی چهل دختر را حکم می شد که لباسهای سر پوشد و بر کوه ها برآید — و در يك نورور بر کوه هفت دادران برآمدند * اکثر در حضور و عیش و فراعته میگدرایند و وقتی که محمد آکر پادشاه بهج ساله شدید در شهر کابل حته سور کردند و در همان دیوان خانه کلال طوئی ست را دادند — و تمام نارار را آئین بسد و میرا همدال و میرا نادگار ناصر و سلطانان و امرايان سحبه آتش سدی حاهاء خوب و مرعوب راست کرده بودند و در باع بیگه بیگم سگمان و صفا حاهای عجیب و عرب راست کرده بودند — و ساجق را همه سررانا و امرانا در (66 b) همان باع دیوان خانه آوردند * بسیار طوئی

پادشاه به آن روش صلح را قبول نکردند و حصرت پادشاه سرم حان را برای
 بیلچی گری فرستاده بودند * میرا کامران سحر بیرم حان را قبول نکردند و
 الحال پادشاه قندهار را به بیرم حان سپرده متوجه کابل شد اند * بیائید ما
 و شما شرط و عهد ما بکدیگر کرده بمحله خود را محصرت پادشاه رسایم *
 میرا یادگار ناصر قبول کرد * اس هر دو شرط و عهد کردند * میرا
 هدال گفتند که شما فرار را بر خود قرار دهید * میرا کامران که
 می شود الله مرا خواهد گفت (61a) که یادگار ناصر گریخته شما رفه دلاسا
 کرده بیارید * ما آمدن من شما آهسته آهسته بروید * بعد از آنی که من آمد
 رسیدم همراه شده سرعت تمام خودهارا علامت حصرت پادشاه خواهیم
 رساید * همین را قرار داده میرا یادگار ناصر گریخت * حر میرا کامران
 رفت * میرا کامران فی الحال گشته نکابل آمدند و میرا هدال را
 طلسم گفتند که شما بروید و میرا یادگار ناصر را دلاسا کرده بیارید *
 ایشان فی الحال سوار شد سرعت تمام آمد همراه شدند * دیگرار آنجا یلغار
 کرده در رخ شش روز آمد علامت حصرت مشرف شدند و محصرت عرص
 کردند که راه نکه حمار^{۶۵۱} ناند متوجه شد *

در سه بهصد و پنجاه و یک هم شهر رمضان المبارك در نیکه حمار^{۶۵۱}
 برول احلال فرمودند * همان روز میرا کامران حر رسید * میرا کامران را
 اصرائی عقی دست داد * در ساعت چادر برآورده در پیش گذرگاه
 فرور آمدند و حصرت (64b) پادشاه در نازدهم شهر رمضان در
 حلگه نیبه^{**} برول احلال فرمودند و میرا کامران هم آمد در برابر
 فرور آمدند قصد حگت * درس اتا هم امرايان و سپاهيان مرا

* چار، (چار)

** Perhaps the Tibāh of Bābar (Mems I. & E 139 & 136 n) which Mr Erskine says is 3 m s of Al-serīn and to the left of the road from that place to Kabul. Abū'l faẓl (A N I 243) gives Julga-i-dūrī as the meeting place

پیش پادشاه قندهار بروید و میان ما با صلح نکید* و بعد از آمدنِ حصرت
خاراده بیگم اگر پادشاه را بمیرا کامران سپردید و میرا کامران نکوح
خود حام سپردید و سرعتِ تمام قندهار آمدید*

و حصرت پادشاه که قندهار آمدید چهل روز میرا کامران و میرا
عسکری در قندهار قل داشتند و بیرم خان را به بلچیگری پیش میرا
کامران فرسادی (63 a) میرا عسکری عاخر و ربون شد گناه خود را
درخواست نموده بیرون آمد حصرت پادشاه را ملازمت کرد— و حصرت
پادشاه قندهار را گرفته فتح نمودند و به پسر شاه دادند* بعد از چند روز
پسر شاه بیمار شد مُرد* حصرت پادشاه قندهار را بعد از آمدنِ بیرم خان
بیرم خان سپردید*

و حمیده بانو بیگم را بیر در قندهار گذاشته معافِ میرا کامران

متوجه شدید*

و آگه حام خاراده سگم که همراه بودید در مقام قتلحک که رسیدید ما
سه روز نپ کردید* هر چند که اطباء علاج کردند معید شد* روز
چهارم در سه بهصه و بجا و یک بر حمت حق پوستند* در همان منزل
قتلحک دس کردید* بعد از سه ماه آورده در مفره حصرت پادشاه ما با
نگاه داشتد*

و میرا کامران در آن چند سال که در کابل بودید هرگز تاحت روه
بودید* بیکار آمدنِ حصرت پادشاه شنید در آن وقت (63 b) ایشان را
هوسِ تاحت شد بحاسبِ هزاره تاحت روه بودید*

و درس اسا میرا هندال که گوته دروستی را احسار کرده بودید
مراجعتِ حصرت پادشاه را از عراق و حراسان و فتح قندهار شنید فرصت را
عبیت داشه میرا یادگار ناصر را طلبید گفتند که پادشاه قندهار را
آمد فتح کردید و میرا کامران خاراده بیگم را برای صلح فرستاده بودید*

میداستم * بار هر دو پادشاه بکدل شدید و با یکدیگر خاطرا صاف کردند *
و آن هر دو حرام حور مردود هر (fault) پادشاه شدند * و آن هر دو را
پادشاه نه شاه سپردند *

آن لعل هارا بهر نوعی وقتی که داشت و نواست گرفت و آن هارا
فرمود که در قید نگاه دارد — و حصرت پادشاه ما در عراق بودند
حوشمالی گذرایدید و شاه انواع خاطرحوئی میسودید و هر روز تخته و هدیه
عجیب و عرب (62a) بحصرت پادشاه میفرستادند * آخر الامر پسر
خود را با حاکمان و سلطانان و امرا با یکدیگر همراه حصرت پادشاه کرده
با بران (ق) خاطرحواه و حرگاه و بارگاه و ختر و طاق و شامیانهای پرکار
و گلیمهای ارزشی و رلچهای کلاسون دوری از هر باب اسباب حاجت
ناید و شاند و از توشکخانه و حرمه خانه و از هر کارخانه و باور حیحانه
و رکابخانه پادشاهانه را طیار کرده ساعت یک آن دو پادشاه غالبمقدار
از یکدیگر رحصت شدند و از آنجا حصرت پادشاه متوجه قندهار شدند *
و حصرت پادشاه در آن وقت گاه آن هر دو بی وفارا از شاه طلبید
و بخشید همراه گرفته متوجه قندهار شدند *

مررا عسکری که شید که حصرت پادشاه از حراسان مراحت موده
بحاس قندهار می آید حلال الدس محمد اکبر پادشاه را بکابل پش میرا
کامران فرستادند * میرا کامران به آکه حام که (62b) حاراده بیگم عمه
ما اند سرزد — و در آن وقت حلال الدس محمد اکبر پادشاه دوم
ساله بودند که آکه حام گرفته نگاه داشت و بسیار دوست میداشت
و دست و پای ایشان را می بوسیدند و می گفند که بعه گونا دست و پای
برادر من پادشاه است و شاهت تمام دارد *

بعد از تحقق شدن آمدن حصرت پادشاه قندهار مررا کامران بحصرت
حاراده بیگم راری و عمر بسیار و ماله بی شمار می کردند که شما بدولت

واری نری ندارد — لك طافی دارد که وقتِ خواب گاهی ریر سرِ خود
و گاهی در بعلِ خود نگاه میدارد * حواحه معظم فهمید و در دل حرم
و بین کرد که آن لعلها در پتش حواحه عاری هست و در همان طافی
نگاه داشته است * پتش حضرت آمد و عرض کرد که من نشان
لعلها را در طافی حواحه عاری نافه ام * بلك روشی میخواهم ارو آن را
ربام * اگر (61a) حواحه عاری پتش حضرت آمد ار من استعانه کد
حضرت من حری نگوند * حضرت شینک سَم فرمودند * حواحه معظم ار
آن نار بحواحه عاری هرل و مطایه و مراق (ك) میکرد * حواحه عاری
آمد عرصِ حضرت پادشاه رساند که من مرد عرب واسم و رسمی دارم
و در ولایتِ بیگانه حواحه معظم خورد سال اس حه معی دارد که من
هرل و مطایه و مراق (ك) نکد و من امانت رساند * حضرت پادشاه
فرمودند که ناکی ندارد — خورد سال است ناری بحاطرش رسیده باشد
وار دلگیری هائی ادبی کرده باشد * شما جبری بحاطر برسانید که او خورد
سال است *

رویر دیگر حواحه عاری آمد در دیوانخانه نشسته بود که حواحه معظم
عافل ساحه لك نار طافی را ار سرش ربود و لعل بی بدل ار طافی بر آورده
پتش حضرت پادشاه و حمده نانو بیگم آورد و نهاد * حضرت سَم کردند
و حمده نانو سگم حوتحال تندید و بحواحه معظم شاناش و رحمت (61b)
ناد گفند * حواحه عاری و روش کوکه ار افعال های خود شرمسار تنه
هر دو پتش شاه رفه و سخاار محبی عرصِ شاه رسانیدند نا بحدی جبری ها
گفتند که حاطر شاه مگدر شد * حضرت پادشاه معلوم کردند که احلاص
و اعتقادِ شاه به دستور سابق هست * فی الحال ار لعل و حواهر هر چه
داشتند شاه فرسادی * شاه پادشاه گفت که گناه حواحه عاری و
روش کوکه است که مارا ار تنها سگانه کرده بودید والا ما شمارا بیگانه

عنمت داشته است و بچ لعل را دردین و سحواحه عاری سکه‌ها شد
و سحواحه عاری سپرده و برور ایام صرف میخواستند صرف نماید*
حمید ماو سگم که سیر خود را شسته آمدند حضرت پادشاه آن طومار را به
سیگم دادند* سیگم اره‌های دست فلحال دریافتند که آن طومار سگ
ظاهر میشود* سیگم به پادشاه گفتند* حضرت فرمودند اس چه معنی
دارد (60a) عمر ما و شما ثالثی اطلاع ندارد چه شده باشد و که گرفته باشد*
حیران شدند* سگم برادر خود سحواحه معظم را گفت که همیوامری واقع
شده — اگر درس طور وقت برادری را میآید و تخصّص اس بیک روشی
که شور شود نکند گویا مرا از محال می برآید* والا نارین ام از روی
پادشاه محل حوام بود*

سحواحه معظم گفت — بچگری سحاطر من می رسد که مرا با وجود
نفر حضرت پادشاه قوب آن بست که ماوی لاعر بوام حرد سحلاف
سحواحه عاری و روش کوکه که هر کدام اسها برای خودها اسپان بوجاق
حردین اند و هور رر اسپان را نداده اند* اس حرد اسها بی یک امیدواری
بست* سگم گفت — ای برادر وقت برادری است — الله تخصّص اس
معامله ناند کرد* سحواحه معظم گفت — ماه چیم* شما یکی بگوئید — اسها
الله عالی امیدوارم که حق (60b) بمقدار رسد* از آنجا برآمد سحواحه هور
سوداگران پرسید که اس اسپان را میچند فروحید؟ درهای اسپان شما
رر کی وعد کرده اند و ادای اس ررها را بچه روش سحاطر شان کرده
اند؟ سوداگران گفتند که ما اس هر دو شخص وعدۀ لعلها کرده اند
و اسپان برده اند* سحواحه معظم از آنجا پش بر سحواحه عاری آمد و گفت
که بچه سروپای واری و پری سحواحه عاری در کجا می شد؟ و در چه
حانگاه میدارد* شمس سحواحه عاری جواب داد که سحواحه ما بچه

و عمه شاه و خواهرای شاه و حرم های شاه و کوچ خان و سلطانان و امرایان
همه در برابر در حاصر بودند همه سر رست و رست آراسته *

در آن روز شاهزاده سلطانم رسید از (آن) حمده مانو بیگم که
در هندوسان همیو و خنر و طاق هم می رسید * سگم در جواب گفت که
حراسان را دو دایک بفرست و هندوسان را حیار دایک — هرگاه که در
دو دایک هم رسید در حیار دایک خود بطریق اولی بیم خواهد رسید *
شاه سلطانم که خواهر شاه باشد بر در جواب عمه خود معوی می حمده مانو
سگم گفت که عمه از شما غم است که این سخن را گفتید دو دایک
بفرست و حیار دایک بفرست تا ظاهر است که بفرست و حوسر هم می رسیده باشد *
و نام روز معرکه و مجلس را خوب بفرستند * در وقت طعام همه رباب
امرا اساده خدمت می کردند * و حرمای شاه بنش شاهزاده سلطانم آتش
می ماندند * دیگر از هر جنس بارهای در دوری و غنای چندان که ماند
و شاید به حمده مانو سگم میمائی کرده * شاه خود بنش رفه مانو جنس
در خانه پادشاه بوده * بعد از آن شنید که حمده مانو بیگم بخانه خود آمدند
از بنش پادشاه (آن) بفرست بخانه خود رفت * ما این حد رعایت
و خاطرجوی خوب می کرد *

در آن اثنا روشن گو که ما وجود وفاداری و خدمات ساعه در آن ملک
سکانه و بر محاطه بی وفائی کرد که حد ناره لعل قسمی که در طومارهای
حضرت پادشاه می بود که حضرت خود ما حمده مانو سگم می دانستند و
ثالث را بان اطلاع بود * اگر پادشاه بنش شریف می بردند آن طومار را
به حمده مانو سگم می بردند * روری سگم سرشش رسید * آن طومار را در
نقشه روانه سجد بر بالای پلنگ پادشاهی نهادند * روشن گو که فرصت را

باستقبال فرساد * اینها همه آمدند دریا آمد و نه اعرار و اکرام نام حصرت را آوردند و چون بردند رسیدند برادران شاه شاه حر فرسادی * شاه بیر خود سوار شد با استقبال حصرت آمد * نایکدیگر دریافتند و آشنائی (58a) و یک هفته آن دو پادشاه عالی مقام ماند دو معر در یک پوست نادام قرار یافت و اتحاد و اخلاص بخدی رسید بود که ایام چندی که حصرت آنجا تشریف داشتند اکثر اوقات شاه در منزل حصرت می آمدند و روری که شاه می آمدند حصرت می رفتند *

در حراسان که بودند هر باغ و بوستان که بود عمارت عالی که سلطان حسین میرزا سا کرده بودند و عمارت عالی سابق و غیره همه را سیر می نمودند و با در عراق بودند هشت مرته شکار رفته بودند و هرگاه که شکار میفرستاد هر مرته حصرت را هم تکلیف میکردند — و حمید نابو بیگم در کخاوه یا در محافه اردور تماشاه میکردند — و شاهزاده سلطام خواهر شاه براسپ سوار شد عقب شاه می ایستاد * حصرت گفته بودند که در شکار عقب شاه صعیقه براسپ سوار بود — خلوش را مرد محاسی سعید گرفته ایستاده بود * مردم چینی می گفتند که شاهزاده سلطام (58b) خواهر شاه است * قصه محضر شاه محضر سیار مهربانی و مروت پیش می آمد و تکلیف کرده مهربانی و عفواری مادرانه و خواهرانه می نمود *

روری شاهزاده سلطام حمید نابو بیگم را تکلیف مهمانی نموده بود * شاه خواهر خود گفت که خون مهمانی می کید در سرو شهر معرکه سارند * ارشردو گروه دور پیشترک حیه و حرگاه و بارگاه در صحن میدان خوب برپا کردند * چرخ و طاق بیر برپا کردند * در حراسان و در آن حدود سراپرده میگردند و در عقب می گردند و حصرت پادشاه سراپرده مدور می گردند مثل هدوانه * مردم شاه حرگاه و بارگاه چتر و طاق برپا کرده در گرداگرد جمع های رنگارنگ مدور گرفته بودند و تمامی حویشاوندان شاه

ربهار که بخواهید گذاشت — گرفته پیش ما بیاید — مال و اسبان بعلو شما دارد و پادشاه را بندها برسانید * اوّل که من حضرت را ندیدم بودم خیال فاسد داشتم * الحال که حضرت را ملازمت کردم حال من و خاندان من (57a) بیخ شش و زردان دارم همه صدقه سیر حضرت بلك صدقه بکبار مؤثّ حضرت * حضرت هر کجا که میخواهد شریف فرماید پناه خدا مرا عسکری مرا هر چه خواهد نکند * آخر بلك پاره لعل و مروارید و چهرهای دیگر به آن بلوح عنایت فرمودند و صاحب کوچ کرده بحاص قلعۀ ماما حاجی تشریف فرمودند *

بعد از دو روز رسیدند * آن قلعه داخل ولایت گرم سیر است و در کنار دریا واقع شده است و جمعی از سادات در آنجا می ناستند * آمد حضرت را ملازمت کردند و میرانی بجا آوردند * صاحب او حواحه علاول الدس محمود از میرا عسکری گریخته آمد و قطار استر و اسب و شامیانه و غیره که داشت آورده پیشکش حضرت کرد * دیگر بی دعدعه شدند *

روز دیگر حاجی محمد خان کوکی ماسی چهل سوار آمد و قطار اسر پیشکش نمود * آخر از ناموایی برادران و ما هم پای امرا لا علاج شده مصلحت (57b) چنان دیدند که توکل بحضرت مسبب الاسباب کرده عزم حرم حراسان باند کردند * و بعد از قطع مارل و طئی مراحل سواحی حراسان رسیدند * باب هلمد که رسیدند شاه طهماسب از اسعاع اس خبر در تخیر و معکر فرو ماند که همان پادشاه از گردش بلك عذار کج رفتار ما سارکار به این حدود رسیدند و حضرت واح الوحد بانجاها رسانید *

جمیع اهالی و موالی و اشراف و اکابر و وصیع و شریف و کبیر و صغیرا باستعمال حضرت پادشاه فرستادند * همه اسها ما آب هلمد پیشوار آمدند و بهرام مررا و الفاس میررا و سام میررا که برادران شاه باشند — همه را

بود که راه سود که بالای کوه روید و اس دعدعه برداشند که مادا مررا
 عسکری بی انصاف ار عقب رسد * و آخر راه را یافه بهر روش بالای کوه
 رسید و تمام شب در میان برف بودند * در آن وقت هیرم هم هم رسید که
 آتش کسد و برای خوردن هم چیری سود * گرسنگی بغایت سگ کرد *
 مردم بیطاقی شدید (56 a) حضرت فرمودند که بک اسپ نکشید * حالا
 اسب را که کشند دنگ بی که آتش بسجند * در دلبه گوشت بسجند و کاب
 کردند و چهار طرف آتش کردند و بدستِ ماریک خود کاب کرده بوش
 کردند * بر ماریک خود می فرمودند که سیر من از مهر بر هم سرد شد
 بود * ماری حون صبح شد کوه دیگر را نشان دادند که در آن کوه انادانی
 هست و جماعه بلوچان در آنجا می باشد در آنجا می باید رفت * راهی
 شدند * در دو روز بدانجا رسیدند * خانه حدی دیدند * در آن جاها
 چند بلوچ وحشی که عمارت که از عولِ بیابان آن مردم اند در دام کوه
 نشسته بودند * همراه حضرت قریب سی کس بودند * بلوچان که دیدند همه
 جمع شده آمدند * حضرت در حرگاه بدولت نشسته بودند که از دور
 دریافند که حضرت نشسته اند ما یکدیگر می گفد که اگر ما اس هارا
 گرفته بپش میرا عسکری سرم الله براق اس هارا ما (56 b) می دهد بلکه
 اعامات ریادتی هم حواهد داد * حس علی اسک آغا ری بلوچی داشت *
 او ریان بلوچی میداست * او معلوم کرد که اس عولهای بیابان خیال
 فاسد دارند — و صاحب خیال کوچ داشتند * بلوچان گفد که بلوچی که
 سردار ما است اسحا حاضر نیست * وقتی که او بیاند کوچ نکید * حون
 وقت هم بیگاه شد بود تمام شب ناحیاط تمام بودند * پاره از شب گذشته
 بود که آن بلوچ سردار آمد حضرت را ملازمت کرد و گفت که فرمان
 میرا کامران و میرا عسکری ما آمده است * در آن بوشه اند که شید شد
 که پادشاه در جابه های شما تشریف دارند — اگر در آنجا باشد رهبار هرا

مگوشه پرباند * گروه خواند و او را بسرده در ساعت الله دوست و امانا
 حوك را بدرون قلعه برد و انواع درشتی کرده * ایها سوگند خوردند
 که ما را از آمدن اس حر بست و اس (51a) پیش من سنی خواند است و
 حواحه عاری جهت ما داشت و پیش کامران میرا بود — ما سب کاست
 پوشه است * محمود قرار داد که کپك را با جمعی همراه پیش شاه حسین
 فرستد * مر الله دوست و امانا حو حوك تمام شب پیش محمود بودند و
 ملائیت کرده او را در خواست نموده از سد خلاص کردند و سبصد امان
 و صد بهی میر الله دوست برای حضرت فرساده و عرصه از ترش به نوشت
 که ماده بدست کسی آمد — اما رانی گفته فرستاد که اگر عرصه داشت
 مر را عسکری ما امرا آمد باشد رف من کامل بد بست و اگر نه مصلحت در
 رف من کامل بست که حضرت پادشاه را بخواهد دید و حضرت کس کم
 دارند آخر با چه روی دهد * کپك آمد بعرض رساید *

حضرت مُتَحَرِّ و متعكر شدند که چه ماند کرد و بنگا ماند رفت * کنگاش
 کردند * بردی محمد خان و سیرم خان کنگاش دادند (54b) که عر ار
 شمالیان و شال مسان که سرحد قندهار است بحای دیگر عرم حرم کردن
 ممکن بست — چرا که در آن حدود افعان بسیار اند بحاسب خود خواهم
 کشند و امرا و ملارمان مر را عسکری بیر گریخته پیش ما خواهد آمد *
 آخر حسین قرار با نکدنگر داده فاعه خواندند و کوچ بکوح متوجه
 قندهار شدند * چون بردنك شال مسان رسیدند و در موضع رلی نام
 موضعی فرور آمدند و چون برف و باران بارید بود و هوا بغایت حك
 بود و قرارداد چس بود که ارس مرل شال مستان خواهم رفت * وقت
 نماز عصر بود که حوائی اورنك بر مانوی قله رهوار کپك (?) رسید و بعمره
 رد که حضرت سوار شوند که در راه سعی عرض خواهم کرد که وقت بگ
 است و الحال وقت سی گفتن بست *

سوار بودند و آنچه نتمه باقی ماند بود برای نار بعین فرمودند* و هر که
سوار می شد بخرد سوار شدن سوار را بر زمین مردید (٥٣a) و راه حگل
میگرفتند و ارشتران نارحانه هر کدام که نار میکردند بخرد شیدن اوار سیم
اسپ حسه حسه نار را بر زمین انداخته خود میگل در آمدن مرفتند —
و بر هر کدام شتر که نار را محکم سه می شد هر چند می حسست نار بی افاد
مع نار راه حگل پش گره مگر سخت* بدس نوع بحاسب قدهار می رفتند
با قرب دوست شتر گریخته باشد و چون بردنک سیوی رسیدند محمود
ساربان باشی ملارم شاه حسین مر را در سیوی بود — قلعه را مصوط کرده
متخصّص شد* حصرت در شش گروهی سیوی فرور آمدند* درس اثنا حر
آمد که میر الله دوست و بابا حوحوك ار کال دو رور است که سیوی آمد
اند و شش شاه حسین میر را مروید* سروا و اسپان پوچاق و منوّه سار
میر را کامران برای شاه حسین مر را فرساده و دحتر اورا برای خود طلب
موده اند* خود حصرت معواحه عاری فرمودند که چون در مائه نو
والله دوست بست پدر و فرزند (٥٣b) است کنایه نوشه فرس که
میر را کامران بچه طریق نما پش می آمد و اگر ما ندانجا روم چون سلوك
نکند* و حصرت بادشاه حواحه کیسک را فرمودند که بحاسب سیوی رفه
به مر الله دوست بگو که اگر آمدن ما را به سد* حوست* حواحه
کیسک مذکور بحاسب سیوی روان شد* حصرت فرمودند که ما آمدن نو
ما کوچ بخواهم کرد* او چون بردنک سیوی رسیدن بود که محمود ساربان
باش گره پرسید که بچه کار آمدی؟ او گفت معهو اسپ و شر
حردن* گفت دست در بعل اندازد و باج اورا بآلد که مادا به الله
دوست و بابا حوحوك فرمان اسمالت آورده باشد*

چون شخص کردند کانت ار بعل او برآمد* فرصت یافت که کاس را

* Misread in translating as (سند)

و قدهار را میرا عسکری (52a) دادند و عریس را وعده کردند میرزا همدال * حالا که عریس آمدند لمعات و نگینهار را میرا همدال دادند * اس طور وعده های دروغ * میرا همدال بدحشا رفت و در حوست و اندراب نشستند * میرا کامران بدلدار بیگم گفتند که شما رفته ساربد * حصرت دلدار بیگم که رفتند میرا حواب دادند که من خود را اردعدعئ سبای گری گذرانم و حوست هم گوشه ایست * ششسه ام * بیگم گفت اگر عریس درویشی و گوشه نشینی باشد هم کامل گوشه ایست ما اهل و عیال و فرزندان یکجا باشید — بهتر است * آخر بیگم میرا را برور آوردند و در کامل مدت ها بوضع درویشی می بودند *

در اینجا میرا شاه حسین پیش حصرت پادشاه کس فرستاد که لانی دولت آست که از اینجا کوچ کرده بحاجت قدهار بروند — بهتر است * حصرت راضی شدند و حواب فرستادند که در اردوی ما اسب و شتر کم مانده است — شما اسب و شتر بیا بدهید ما ما قدهار برویم * شاه حسین میرا قبول (52b) کرد و گفت که هرگاه شما از آب گذرید هزار شتر آن روی آب هست — همورا شما حواهم فرساده *

اگر (؟ اکثر) سخنان که در راه نکهر و سد از حواجه کیسک خویش حواجه عاری مدکور بود نقل از نوشته حواجه کیسک مدکور است * آخر حصرت به اهل و عیال لشکر و غیره برکنشی ها سوار شدند * با سه روز بحر را طی کردند * از سرحد ولایت او گذشته بواسطه نام موضعی بود آنجا فرور آمدند و سلطان قلی نام ساریان ناشی را فرستادند تا شتران را بیارد * سلطان قلی مدکور رفته هزار شتر آورد * حصرت همه شتران را به امرایان و سپاهی و غیره مردم لشکر دادند و قسمت فرمودند * آن شتران سوع بودند که گونا هفت پشت بلکه هفاد پشت آن شتران مدکور شهر و آدم و بار را بدین بودند * چون در لشکر فحط العرس بود اکثر مردم شتر

برديك شمايان است — درس طور وقت كه بر ما و شمايان است
در ميان خودها بايق ناشيد بهر است و كتله‌ها كه من ميرزا كامران
بوشته ام اگر قبول كند و عمل آرد هرچه خاطر او خواهد مام همان
بوع مي كم *

بعد از رسيدن حصرت بيگم نندهار بعد از چهار رور ميرزا كامران هم
رسيدند و هر رور ماله‌ها مي كردند كه حطه نام من بخوايد * ميرزا
هندال مي گفند كه بعد دادي حطه چه معني دارد؟ حصرت فردوس
مكاني در حيات خود پادشاهي را نه همانون پادشاه داده اند و ولي عهد
خود كردايند اند و مايان هم قبول كرده و حطه نام ايشان با اس مدت
خواسته ام — الحال بعد دادي حطه صوره ندارد * ميرزا كامران محصرت
دلدار سگم حطی نوشتند كه ما ار كالل شمارا ناد كرده آمدم عجب است
كه يك زمان آمد ما را نديدند — (51b) چا بچه والده ميرزا هندال اند
بهمون طور والده ما اند * آخر الامر دلدار سگم نندس ايشان آمدند *
ميرزا كامران گفند الحال شمارا مي گدارم با ميرزا هندال را بطليد *
دلدار بيگم گفند كه حابراده سگم ولي نعمت شما اند و كالل و بررگ هم
شمايان اند * حقيقت حطه را ارايشان پرسد * آخر نه آكه گفند * حصرت
حابراده بيگم جواب دادند — اگر ار من مي پرسيد بطرفي كه حصرت فردوس
مكاني قرار داده اند و پادشاهي خود را نه همانون پادشاه داده اند و شمايان
هم حطه را با حال نام ايشان خواند آيد — الحال هم كالل خود داشته
فرمان بر دار ايشان ناشيد * عرض تا چهار ماه ميرزا كامران قندهار را قل
كرده و ماله حطه مي نمودند * آخر قرار دادند — خوب — الحال
پادشاه دور اند — حطه را نام من بخوايد — هرگاه پادشاه باشد نام
ايشان خواهد خواند * چون قل بدور و درار كشيده بود و مردم سگ
آمد آمد بودند ضرور شد حطه را خواندند *

یادگار و میرا پادشاه محمد و محمد ولی و ندیم کوکه و روش کوکه و حدنگ
ایشک آغاچی* و جمعی دیگر در ملازمیت حضرت بودند که حرآمد که
بیرم خان از حاسب گرات می آید و برگشته حاحکاه رسیده است* حضرت
خوشحال شدند و کهنگ ایشک آغاچی را بمعنی حکم کردند که باستعمال
بیرم خان روید*

درس اثنا شاه حسین شنید که بیرم خان می آید* چند کس را فرستاده
که بیرم خان را بگردند* غافل در حائ فرور (50b) آمد که آمد
ریختند* حدنگ ایشک آغا کشته شد و بیرم خان با چندی خلاص شد
در ملازمیت حضرت آمد مشرف شد*

درس اثنا عرصه داشتند قراچه خان آمد بحضرت پادشاه (و) میرا
هدال که مدتیست که در نواحی نکه رسته اید* درس مدت از
شاه حسین میرا اثر دولخواهی ظاهر شد بلکه بد پیش آمد* دیگر
عبادت الهی کار آسان خواهد شد اگر پادشاه بدولت و سعادت یابد
بهر و عین مصلحت است و اگر حضرت یابد شما البته بیائید* چون
حضرت توقع کرده بودند و سررا هدال (۹) به اسفقال برآمد و قندهار را
بیشکس سررا هدال کرده بود*

میرا عسکری در عرین بودند* میرا کامران عرصه داشت کردند که
قراچه خان قندهار را سررا هدال داد— فکر قندهار را ناند کرد* میرا
کامران در صدد اس شدند که قندهار را از میرا هدال بگیرند*

درس صص حضرت اس خبرها را شنیده یش عمه خود حاراده
بیگم آمد مالعه سار (51a) نمودند که مرا سرافرار کرده بفسدهار
روید و میرا هدال را و میرا کامران را بصیحت کید که اورنگ و برکان

و شیخ علی بیگ که مرد مردانه بود حصرت اورا همراه مظفر بیگ
برگام محاسب حاکم برگه کلان بود فرساده بودند * سررا شاه حسن
جمع را بر سر او فرساده (۱۹۱۱) در میان هر دولشکر حاکم عظم شد *
آخر الامر مظفر سگ میرم شده گریخته و شیخ علی بیگ جمع کشته
شد صاع شد *

و در میان خالد بیگ و لوش سگ برادر شام خان حلاز گشت
و گوی شد * آخر جمع رعایت لوش بیگ کردند * ارس سب خالد بیگ
ما جمع گریخته نش سررا شاه حسن رفت * حضرت پادشاه والده اورا
که سلطان نام داشت ندی خانه فرمودند * ارس واسطه گلرگ سگم
ریخته بودند * آخر گناه اورا بخشید و همراه گلرگ بیگم رخصت مگ
معظمه کردند * بعد از حدگاه لوش سگ هم گریخت و حصرت اورا
ندعای ندی داد کردند که ما برای خاطر او خالد بیگ را درسی کردم *
ما وجود آن را دانه حلال نمی برآمدند و حرام نمی در آمد * حواص
مرگ حواص شد * آخر همون طور شد که بعد از یارده رور در کشی
حواص کرده بود که علامش نگاردرده کش - و حضرت بعد از شنیدن
سار مالم و متکر شدند (son) شاه حسین کشی مارا بردن چون
بدرا آورده بود و در حشکی * هم اکثر اوقات مردم حصرت مردم شاه
حسن حاکم می کردند و از حابین مردم کشته می شدند - و اکثر مردم
پادشاهی هر رور گریخته بطرف شاه حسن میروند * از جمله ملا
ناج الدس که در علم و بر آن عبادت کلی داشت در آن حاکم
کشته شد *

و در میان بردی محمد خان و معمر خان گشت و گوی شد * معمر خان
هم گریخت * امرای معدودی ماندند * از جمله بردی محمد خان و سررا

نکهر شدند و سی و اهل و عیال را (48b) در عمرکوت گذاشتند — و حواحه
مُعظمًا را سرگذاشتند که از حرم حردار باشد * حمید نامو بیگم حامله بود *
بعد از متوحه شدن حضرت سه روز گذشته بود که سارح چهارم شهر رحب
المرحب ^{۹۴۹} سه بهصد و چهل و نه وقتِ سحر روز یکسه بود که تولدِ
حضرت نادر شاه عالم پناه عالم گیر حلال الدین محمد اکبر نادر شاه عاری شد *
فقر در برج اسد بود * تولد در برج ثابت شد بغایت خوست و صحران
گفتند فرزندى که در ساعته شود صاحبِ اقبال و درار عمر می شود *
حضرت در پانزده کرمی بودند که نردی محمد خان حردار رسیده *
حضرت بسیار بسیار خوشحال شدند — و از مزده و بشارت آن حردار
تفسیرات مانفدیم نردی محمد خان معاف کردند *

و آن جواب که در لاهور دیده بودند همون نام حلال الدین محمد اکبر
نادر شاه نام نهادند * و از آنجا کوچ کرده متوحه نکهر شدند — و از مردم
رعنا و اطرافى و سودمه و سمیچه ما ده هزار کس جمع شدند — در برگه
چون رسیدند (49a) يك علام شاه حسین میرزا ما چند سوار در چون
بود — گرچه رفت * در آنجا ناع آسه بسیار خوب نصا بود * در آن ناع
حضرت فرور آمدند و مواضع آن را مردم حاجر تعین فرمودند * از
خون بهه شش روزه راه بود * ما شش ماه حضرت در آنجا بودند و
نعمکوت کس فرستادند اهل حرم و سی تمام مردم را طلبیدند * در آن
وقت حلال الدین اکبر نادر شاه شش ماه بودند که در چون آوردند *

و جماعه که از اطراف و حاسب همراه اهل حرم آمدن بودند مسرق شدند
و رعرا را از حقه گفت و گوی که نه نردی محمد خان واقع شد بود شکر
رنگی در میان نردی بیگت و او بود * بیم ششی بود که کوچ کرده بحاسب
ولایت خود رفت و جماعه سودمه و سمیچه سر بدو موافقت کرده رفتند *
حضرت بهمان جمعیت خود ماندند *

و هر دلولی که از جاه سرون می آمد چون بزرگ می رسید مردم خود را در میان دلو می انداختند و رسماً گسسته می شد و بچ شش کس همراه دلو در جاه می افتادند * مردم بسیار از شکی مردید و هلاک می شدند * حضرت دیدند که مردم از شکی خودها در جاه می انداختند — از کروی حاصه خود بهمه مردم آب میخوردند — آخر مردم را سیراب کرده نمار پیشین بود که کوچ کردند و یک شاه رور راه رفت * در سرای رسیدند * نالانی کلانی بود * اسان و شتران که درون بالاب در آمدند حداث آب خوردند که اکثر مردید * اسپ کم مانده بود — استر و شر بودند * از آن نمار (48a) هر رور آب پیدا می شد تا به عمرکوب رسیدند که حای حوست و نالاب سیار دارد * رعنا * پشوار حضرت آمد و درون قلعه مرد و مرل حوب داد و مردم امرا را سرون قلعه حا داد *

اکثر چر در کال ارانی بود — یک روزه را چهار بر میدادند * از بر عاله و غیره رعنا پیشکشی سیار آورد و چین خدمات تناسه بها آورد که بکدام ریان بر سر توان کرد ؟ و چند روری در آنجا بحر و حوی گذرایند *

و بعد از آنی که حربه تمام شد بزرگی یگک حان رر سیار داشت حضرت بطریق فرص ارو ملعی طلیدند * او بحساب ده دوشاد درار اشرفی قرص داد * حضرت گرفته حصه رسد تمام لشکر بخش کردند * و کمر حرها و سروپاها به رعنا و فرزندان او عنایت فرمودند * و بعضی مردم اسان ناره خریدند *

و پدر رعنا را میرزا شاه حسین گشته بود * بوحود آن هم دوسه هزار سوار حرار بهم رسانید در ملازمت حضرت همراه کرد * نمار حضرت متوجه

* (رعنا) Text, *passim*, spells thus

برادرِ سرولی و جمعی دیگر را رحلت کردند و فایحه خواندند که رفته
 با کافران حاکم کند — و بقیه حضرت شد که ایشان سوار سلطان و مع
 حان و میرزا نادگارا با جمعی که گذاشته بودند کشته شدند با دست
 کافران افتادند که اس جماعت آنها را کشته بر سر ما آمدند * حضرت
 با خود سوار شده همراه خود کس اردو را گذاشته پیش رفتند * و آن
 جماعت که حضرت فایحه خواند محکم فرستاده بودند شیخ علی بیگ
 سردار (۱۶۸) آن را حواری را به برده از اسب انداخت و چند کس دیگر را
 مردم دیگر به سر زدند * کافران رو برگردانده و فتح شد * چند کس را
 یک هم گرفته آوردند * اردو آمده آهسته میروند * اما حضرت پادشاه دور
 رفته بودند * اس مردم فتح کرده به اردو آمد رسیدند *

بیهود نام خوداری بود * او را از عیب حضرت دوا بد فرساده که
 حضرت آمده روید که رعایت الهی فتح شد و کافران گریختند * بیهود
 خود را محصور رسانید و حیر حوش مرد * حضرت فرود آمدند — و اندک
 آبی هم می پیدا شد * اما در فکر امرا بودند که آنها را چه واقع شد ؟ که
 اردو چند سوار پیدا شدند * با دعدعه شد که مادا مال دسو باشد * کس
 فرساده که حیر بیارد — دود آمد که ایشان سوار سلطان و میرزا نادگار
 و مع حان همه صحت و سلامت می آیند * راه گم کرده بودند * بعد از
 رسیدن آنها حضرت خوشحال شدند و شکر حق می آوردند *

وصاح کوچ کردند — سه روز دیگر آب نیامد (۱۶۹) بعد از سه روز
 بر سر جاها رسیدند و جاهای مذکور سار عمیق بودند * بر سر آن جاها
 مقام کردند * آب آن جاها رعایت شرح بود — بر سر يك جاها حضرت
 فرود آمدند — بر سر يك جاها دیگر تندی بیگ حان — و بر سر يك جاها
 میرزا نادگار و مع حان و بدیم کوکه — و بر سر يك جاها ایسان سوار
 سلطان و حواجه عاری و روش کوکه *

و آن دنگری حجری از مایه یکی کشید و سحاب مردم کرده * جد کس را
 رنجی کرده و اسب سواری حضرت کشید * عرص تلاش سار کردد ما
 آنکه آن مرد دورا کشد (۱۱۱۶) و درین صحن عوفا شد که مالدو رسد *
 حضرت مادشا اسب سواری داشتند که لایق سواری حمده مایه سگم
 باشد * برای سواری سگم از بردی یک اسب طلسم باشد * عالماً
 بردی سگت اسب نداده * حضرت فرمودند — برای من شیر
 حواجر اما سخی را طار نکند — من شیر سوار حوام شد و سگم به اسب
 من سوار شود * طامراً بدم سگت شد اسب که حضرت مادشا اسب
 سواری خود را سواری سگم یعنی کرده اند و خود حمال دارند که شیر
 سوار شود * او والد خود را بر شیر سوار کرده اسب سواری والد خود
 بحضرت مادشا بخش کرده *

حضرت سوار شد موجه عمر کوت شدند * از جای رهبر گرفتند که
 راه را سرکند * هوا بغایت گرم بود و اسب و حاروا با ران در رنگ مرو
 معرفت و در عقب لشکر مالدو بردن رسید * مار کوچ کردند و شه
 و کرسه روان شدند * اکثر از رن و مرد ساء بودند * حون لشکر (46b)
 مالدو بردن رسید حضرت اشان سوار سلطان و مع حان و جمع
 دنگر را فرمودند که شما را آغوشه ساند و عثم را نگاه دارند ما ما حد کروه
 سر آنکه روم * اشان ماندند و شب شد راه گم کردند * حضرت تمام شب
 راه رفتند * حون صبح شده رور بود که اسان آب یافت بودند که حانی
 آب یافتند * حضرت فرود آمدند که کس دونه آمد که هندوان سار
 اسب سوار و شیر سوار رسیدند *

حضرت شیخ علی یک و روش کوکه و بدم کوکه و مر ساء محمد

* The MS writes the name of this jewel of chroniclers in the plural

جیسلمیر شدند * بعد از چند روز نفلعه دلاور رسیدند که سرحد ولایت
 راحه مالدیو است (45a) دو روز آنجا بودند — دانه و گاه پیدا شد —
 و از آنجا بحساب جیسلمیر روان شدند * چون نزدیک جیسلمیر رسیدند راحه
 جیسلمیر جمعی را فرستاد و سر راه گرفت و حگک شد — و حصرت باچدی از
 راه کماره میرفتند * درین حگک چند کسی زخمی شدند — (۱) لوش بیگ برادر
 شام حان حلاز و پیر محمد آخته و روشنگ نوشکی و چند دیگر زخمی
 شدند * آخرفرح کردند * کافران گریخته نفلعه درآمدند — و حصرت آن
 روز تا شصت گروه راه رفت و در سر بالائی مرل واقع شد * بعد از آن
 ساسلمیر رسیدند * آمدند آن روز شوش دادند تا آنکه در پلودی نام
 برگه که تعلق به مالدیو داشت رسیدند * راحه مالدیو در حوده پور بود —
 يك حبه و يك شتر بار اشرفی خدمت حصرت فرستادند و دلاسانی سیار
 نمود که خوش آمدید — بیکاسرا شما می‌دهم * حصرت با دل جمع
 نشسته بودند و آنکه حان را پیش مالدیو فرستادند که چه جواب می‌دهد
 ملا سرح کتابدار در آن شکست و ویرانی هد بحساب (45b) ولایت مالدیو
 رفته ملازم شده بود * او عرصه فرستاد که رهبار رهبار حصرت
 پیش بیاید و در هر جا که مرل دارند در ساعت کوچ کند که مالدیو
 در صدد گرفتن شما است و اعتماد بر قول او نکند که ابلیجی شیر حان
 آمده و شیر حان نوشته فرستاده که هر نوعی که داید و نواید آن
 حصرت را بگیری — اگر اس کار کردید ناگور و الور و هر حائی که
 خواهید شما می‌دهم * و آنکه حان هم آمده گفت که وقت استاد نیست *
 نماز دیگر بود که حصرت کوچ کردند و در وقت سواری حصرت دو
 حاسوس را گرفته آوردند * هر دورا سته نزدیک آورده سخن می‌رسیدند که
 دست‌های خود را فی الحال خلاص کرده شمشیر را کمر محمود کردار
 کشیده اول محمود را رده — بعد از آن باقی گوالباری را زخمی کرده —

آسم * سبحان قلی که از یگم اس حرف شید آمدن عرض رساید * حصرت
فرمودند اگر ما محرم اند محرم می سارم *

عرض که ما چهل رور از حقه حمید ماو یگم ماله و مناقشه بود و یگم
راضی شدند * آخر حصرة والکام دلدار بیگم بصیحت کردند که آخر
خود نکسی خواهی رسید — بهتر از پادشاه که خواهد بود — یگم گفتند که
آری نکسی خواهم رسید که دست من بگر سار او برسد — نه آنکه نکسی
برسم که دست من میدام ندانم او برسد * آخر مار (43b) والده ام
بصیحت بسیار کردند *

عرض که بعد از چهل رور در ماه حمید الاول^{۹۴۸} سه مهصد و
چهل و هشت در مقام مار رور دوشه یم رور بود که استرلاب را حصرة
پادشاه بدست مارك خود گرفته اند و ساعت سعد را اختیار کرده میر
ابو القارا طلین حکم فرمودند که نکاح ستند * ملع دولک نکاحه
میر ابو القارا دادند * بعد از عقد سه رور دیگر آغا بودند — بعد از آن
کوح کرده در کشتی بنشیند و متوجه بکهر شدند *

و بیکاه در بکهر بودند * میر ابو القارا در پیش سلطان بکهری
فرستادند * آغا تشویش شد برحمت حق بپوسد *

آخر میرا هدال را رحصت قدهار کردند * میرا نادگار باصر را
مخای خود در لری گذاشتند و حصرت خود متوجه سیاهوان شدند که
ار ساهوان ما بهه شش هفت روره راهست * سیاهوان قلعه مصوط
دارد و میر علیه ملازم حصرت پادشاه در آن قلعه بود و توپچی چندی
بود که هیچ کس را محال بر دیک قلعه رفتن بود * چند کس از مردم
حصرت پادشاه مورچال (44a) کرده بر دیک رسیدند و او را بصیحت کردند
که حرام مکی درس طور وقت خوب نیست * میر علیه قبول نکرد *
آخر نف کنند و یک برج قلعه را انداختند * اما قلعه را نتواند گرفت

کردند * حمد ماو یلکم را برسدند که اس چه کس است ؟ گفتند که دخترِ مرما دوست * خواجه معظم روبروی حضرت اساده بود * گفتند - اس سر با حوش مشود * حمد ماو یلکم را گفتند که اس هم حوش ما است *

در آن ايام حمد ماو سلم (۱۱۱) اکثر در حل مرما ی بود * رور دیگر مار حضرت بدین حضرت والدین دلداری آمدند * فرمودند - مرما دوست خوشاورد ما است - مادر آید که دخترِ اورا با حساب نکند * مرما همدال عدل را می گفتند که اس دختر را من مثل خواهر و فرزند خود میدانم - حضرت پادشاه اند - مادا معاش يك شود ما باع کلف شود * حضرت پادشاه هم کرده - خواجه رسید *

بعد از آن حضرت والدین حلی نوشته فرستادند که مادرِ دختر اس هم بشیر مار مکند - عجب که به اندک سن رسیده رسد * حضرت پادشاه در جواب نوشته فرستادند که اس حاکم شایسته سار حوش آمد هر ماری که می کند سر و جسم فول دارم * در ارجح معاش که نوشته اند ایشان - حمد المدعا خواهد شد - حمد اسرار در را است * حضرت والدین رسد حضرت پادشاه را آوردند * آن رور حلّ دادند * بعد از مجلس سحرل خود سحر بفرستد * رور دیگر حضرت شش والذام آمدند و گفتند که کس (۱۱۱) رسید حمد ماو یلکم را طبع سار و حضرت والدین که کس فرستادند حمد ماو یلکم آمدند - گفتند - اگر عرض ملازمت است خود آن رور ملازمت مریف شد ام - دیگر برای چه پیام ؟ مریه دیگر حضرت سحر و فرستادند که مرما همدال را رفته بگو که بیکم را برسد * مرما آید - در حد من گفتم برود - نو خود رفته بگو * سحران فلی که رفته است - بیکم جواب دادند که دلداری پادشاهان يك مریه حاضر است - در مریه دیگر با محرم - من می

آخر میر سمدرا* پیش شاه حسین مررا فرستادند که از ضرورت ولایت تو آمد ام و ولایت تو سو مبارک باشد — ما دخل نخواهیم کرد — ماری تو خود آمد مارا ملارمت نک و خدمت که لارمه باشد بخا بیار — که ما داعیه گهرات داریم و ولایت ترا تو میگدارم* آخر شاه حسین مذکور بمکر و حيله ما پنج ماه حصرت را در سمدر نگاه داشت و بعد از آن کس بمخدمت حصرت فرساد که سامان طوئی دحر خود را کرده بمخدمت حصرت میفرستم و خود بیر ملارمت خواهم آمد*

حصرت سخی اورا ماور کردید — سه ماه دیگر انتظار کشیدید* غله گاهی پیدا میشود و گاهی پیدا نمی شود* مردم سپاه اسپان و شران خود را کشته میخوردید* بار حصرت شیخ عبد العفور را فرساید — ما کی انتظار میدی — ماع (42a) آمدن کیست و باعث توقف چیست؟ اس مرته داشت که کار سگ شده است و مردم بسیار گریخته می روند* جواب فرستاد که دختر من نامرد میرا کامران است و دیدن من هم امر محال است — شما را ملارمت کرده نمی توانم*

درس اثنا محمد هذال میرا از آب گذشتند که بعضی مردم میگفتند که متوجه قندهار میشود* حصرت پادشاه که شنیدند از غیب میرا چند کس فرستادند که رفته نرسید (پرسید) که شنید شد که قصد قندهار دارند* چون از میرا پرسیدند میرا گفت که عاظ عرض رسایند اند* حصرت پادشاه اس حررا شنید بدیدن حصرت والد آمدند*

حرمهای میرا و همه مردم میرا حصرت پادشاه را درس مجلس ملارمت

* آخر میرزا شاه حسین سمدرا Text, (سمدرا) This is clearly the scribe's error. Mir Samandar was a confidential servant of Humāyūn and is named in the histories as the envoy. Cf note to translation

ملکه فریدان طمع کابل نکند — چرا که همه فریدان را حدای تعالی من در کابل داده و اکثر فتح‌ها از شستن کابل شدن ملکه در واقعۀ نامۀ فردوس مکانی هم مشهود اس معی بسیار مذکور است * چه شد که من از روی مهربانی و برادری ممر را اسایت کردم — میرزا الحال جبین میگوید *

هر چند حصرت دلاسا و یکانگی معرمودید — میرزا پیشتر از پیشتر مالعۀ میسودید * چون حصرت دیدید که همراه میرزا جمعیت سوار است و بهیچ وجه رفتن کابل میرزا راضی نیست لا علاج شدن ضرور شد بطرف نکهر و ملان متوجه شدید * در ملان که رسیدید يك روز مرل (41a) نمودید * علۀ کمرک پیدا شد و اندك عله که در قلعه پیدا شد بود مردم قسمت کرده کوچ کردند و بر سر دریای که هفت دریا بکجا شده اس رسیدید * حیران ماندید * کشتی هم میسود و آردوی عظم همراه * درین اثنا حرآمد که حواص حال نا جید امرا از عقب می آید * بخشو نام بلوخی بود که حاهاى مسکن داشت و کسى (؟ کشتی) سار هم داشت * حصرت کسى را پیش او فرستاد و علم و عماره واسپ و سروپا بر فرستاد و طلب کشتی نمودید و عله هم طلب نمودید * آخر الامر بخشو بلوچ قرب يك صد کشتی نمودید بر عله هم بملازمیت حصرت فرستادید * ارس خدمت شاسه حصرت بسیار خوشحالی کردید و کشتی علۀ مذکور را مردم لشکر قسمت کردند و سعادت و سلامت از آب گذشتند * رحمت ماد بر بخشو مذکور که خدمت شایسته بجا آورد *

و آخر الامر بعد از طی مسافت به نکهر رسیدید — و قلعه نکهر در مار دریا واقع شد و قلعه مصوط دارد — و پادشاه قلعه مذکور که سلطان محمود (41b) باشد منحصص شده بود و حصرت به پهلوی قلعه سعادت و سلامت فرود آمد نمودید — و بر ديك قلعه ناعی بود که میرزا شاه حسین سمد را است کرده بود *

و در آن ایام یسی گونور حامله بود* همه میگفتند که پسر نولد خواهد شد* در همان ماع دوست مشی ار یسی گونور در ماه حمید الاول دختر نولد شد سحشی مابو سگم نام کردد*

و در آن روزها میرا حیدر را بگرفت کشمر معن نموده اند* درس ائنا حر آمد که شرحاں رسید* عجب اضطرابی دست داد* قرار دادند که صالح کوچ کند* (10a)

درس مذب که برادران در لاهور بودند هر روز مصلحت و مشورت و کنگاش میکردند* اصلاً مك حمر قرار می دادند* آخر الامر حر آمد که شرحاں آمد* دیگر سی علاج شد بکچر روز بود که کوچ کردند و حصرت داعه کشمر داشتند — و میرا حیدر کاشمر را فرساده بودند* اما هور حیر فتح کشمر پیامد بود* کنگاش دادند که اگر حصرة موحه کشمر شوند و کشمر فی الحال مسر شود و شرحاں در لاهور باشد — آن رماں سار مشکل میشود*

حواچه کلان بیگ در سیال کوت بود — موحه ملازمت حصرت شد* مؤند بیگ همراه حواچه بود* محصرت عرصه داشت کرد — حواچه ددعده ملازمت دارد و می آمد اما ملاحظه میرا کامران دارد — اگر حصرت سرعت باشد ملازمت حواچه محصرت با حصرت موحه مسر می شود* حصرت ار شدن اس حمر فی الحال حیه نوشده مسلح و مکمل شد موحه حواچه شدند و حواچه را همراه گرفته آوردند*

و حصرت فرمودند که با اتفاق برادران به بدحشاں روم و کابل (10b) بعلی میرا کامران داشته باشد* اما میرا کامران روس کابل راضی شدند و گفتند که کابل را حصرت فردوس مکانی در حباب خود بواده من داده اند — روس کابل لایق نیست* حصرت فرمودند که در باب کابل اکثر حصرت فردوس مکانی فرمودند که کابل را من بهج کس بخوام داد —

سرهده ناستد * آن بی اوصاف (39a) خدا ما ترس قبول نکرده و گفتم که کابل را شما گذاشتم — در آنجا ماند رفت *

مطهر یگت در ساعت کوچ کرد و پیشتر کس فرساده کوچ می ناید کرد * همین که حر رسید حضرت کوچ کردند گونا رور قیامت بود که حای هارا آرسه همراه اسباب هان نوع گذاشتند * مگر بعد آنچه بود هون را نواستند گرفت * شکر خدا درس بود که ار آب لاهور گذر یافند * هه مردم پای آب گذاشتند — وجد رور در کار درنای مرل کردند که الچی شیر حان آمد * قرار دادند که صلاح نه یسد که میرا کامران الماس نمودند که فردا معرکه خواهد بود و الچی سیر حان خواهد آمد * اگر در بونک رچئه حضرت نشنم ما فرقی میان من و برادران ناستد ناعث سرافراری من خواهد شد *

همین نامو بیگم میگوید ممر را اس رباعی را پادشاه نوشته فرستادند و من تنبیه بودم که در جواب شیر حان بدست الچی نوشته فرستادند * رباعی اس است —

در اسم گرچه خود نمائی ناستد — پیوسه رخواستن حدائی ناستد — (39b) خود را مثالی عر ددن عجب است — اس بوالعجبی کار خدای ناستد * الچی شیر حان که آمد ملازمت کرد *

حاطر مارك ايشان ملول شد * دلگرسنه در جواب شدید و در جواب دند اند که عرری آمد ار سر ما پا لباس سر پوشید و عصای در دست * گفت مردانه ناش و عم محور و عصای خود را بدست مارك حضرت داده اند و گفته اند خدای تعالی سو فریدی خواهد داد — ماش حلال الدس محمد اکرمائی * حضرت پرشیدند که اسیم شریف شما چیست ؟ فرموده اند که زنده قبل احمد حام — و فرموده اند آن فرزند ارسل من خواهد شد *

است * آخر میرزا همدال عرص کردند که قل کردی مادر و حواهر
محسرت روش است * تا حال دارم در خدمت آنها تردد میکنم و امیدوارم
ارحسرت حق سبحانه که در قدیم حصرت والد و همشیره اس حفر حان
خود را نثار کنم *

آخر حصرت پادشاه ما میرزا عسکری و یادگار ناصر میرزا و امرای که
ارحک گاه سلامت بر آمدند بودند متوجه فتح پور شدند *

و میرزا همدال حصرة والدۀ خود را که دلدار بیگم باشد و همشیره که
گلچهره بیگم باشد و افعالی آه چه و گلزار آه چه و مارگل آه چه و اهل
و عیال امرا و غیره را در پیش انداخته می بردند که گواران سیار بر ایشان
ناخندند * ارسپاهیان ایشان چند کس اسب انداخته اند و گواران را (38 b)
شکست دادند — و لك تیره اسب سارک ایشان رسیدند * حگ و حذل
سیار کردند * صغار را از اسیران گواران خلاص کرده حصرت والد و
همشیره خود را و سی امرا و غیره مردم را در پیش انداخته به الور آمده
رسیدند *

چادر و حیمه و غیره بعضی اسباب که در کار بود گرفته متوجه لاهور
شدند * میرزایان و امرایان را آنچه در کار بود همراه گرفته در اندک روز
آمدن لاهور رسیدند *

حصرت در ماع حواحه عاری بردنک یسی حاج تاج فرود آمدند *
هر روز حیر شیر حان میرسیدند * مدت سه ماه در لاهور بودند و روز
بروز حیر می آمد که شیر حان دو گروه سه گروه می آید — ما انکه حیر
رسید که بردنک سرحد رسید *

و حصرة مطر بیگ نام امرا (sic) داشتند * ترکان بود * او را همراه
قاصی عد الله پیش شیر حان فرستادند که چه اوصافست — تمام ملك
هندوستان را نوگذاشتم * لك لاهور ماند میان ما و شما حد همین

خود را فرستادند که اگر همراه ممرود با لك مرل خود بیایند * آخر در آن مرل که آمده شد دیگر بیاید سوگند خوردن کردند که من را بخوام گذاشت *

آخر صد گریه و راری و فغان از والد ها و از والدۀ خود و از همسیره ها و از مردم پدر و برادران که از خوردی لك حاکلان شده بودیم — از همه خدأ کرده بر حر و رور بردند * دیدم که فرمان پادشاهی هم درس ناب هست * لا علاج شدم و محصرت عرصه داشت (37b) نوشتم که از حصرت چشم داشت آن نداشتم که اس حمبر را از ملارمت خود خدأ سارید و نه میرا کامران نه بخشید * آخر در جواب عرصۀ حمبر حصرت پادشاه سلام نامه نوشه فرسادند نه اس مصعون که من دل نداشتم که ترا از خود خدأ کنم — اما چون میرا سیار مالعۀ کرد و عجر و الحاح نمود ضرور شد که ترا نه میرا سپردم چرا که الحال ما هم بر سر مهم ام — انشاء الله تعالی هرگاه که اس مهم صورۀ پدرد اوّل را خواهم طلید *

چون میرا متوحه لاهور شدند اکثر مردم از امرا و سوداگران و غیره هر کسی را اسعداد بود * گرانۀ کرده و اهل و عیال خود ها را همراه میرا کامران کوچانید ب لاهور بردند *

بعد از آمدن ب لاهور حر رسید که بر آب گنگ حگک شد و شکست بر لشکر حصرت افاد * ناری اس قدر شد که حصرت با برادران و خویشان از آن ورطه صحت و سلامت برآمدند *

دیگر حوشاوند که در آگره بودند برآه الور شده متوحه لاهور شدند * در آن اثنا حصرت ممر را همدال (38a) فرمودند که در آن مرتّ اوّل عیقه بیسی غایب شدند * آخر سیار پشیمان شدم که چرا بحضور خود نکشم * الحال هم عورات را درس طور وقت همراه بحای رساییدن مشکل

درس وقت که شیر حان بردن رسیده اس چه کار است که حصرت میکند *

در آن روزها میرا کامران بیماری عجب رور کرده * چنان صعیف و لاعرشید و ارس که لاعرشید بودند اصلاً چهره برحا بود و امید رستن بود * رعامت (36 b) آلهی بهر شدند — و میرا کامران را گای آن شد که مصطح حصرت بادشاه و والدها به اشان رهر دادند * حصرت بادشاه اس سحر را شدند * بکمر به بدین میرا کامران آمدند و سوگند حوردد که هرگز در خیال ما نگدشته و بکس فرموده ام * ما وجود سوگند خاطر میرا کامران صاف نشد و بیماری میرا بار رور برور بدر شد چنانچه قوت سنی کردن نداشتند *

ما آنکه حر رسید که شیر حان ار لکھو گذشت حصرت کوچ کردید و موحه کوچ شدند و میرا کامران را سیمای خود در آگره ماندند * بعد ار چند رور میرا کامران شیدند که حصرت بادشاه پل سه ار آب گنگ گذشتند * میرا کامران شدند — ار آگره کوچ کردید *

طرف لاهور شسته بودم که میرا کامران فرمان بادشاهی را فرستادند که شمارا حکم است که همراه من به لاهور بروید * ار جهة من میرا کامران بحصرت بادشاه گفته باشد که بیماری من سار قوی است و سار عریب و سکس و سی عموارم (37 a) اگر گلدن بیگم را حکم شود که من همراه لاهور رود عین رعامت و کرم خواهد بود * حصرت بروی ایشان گفته باشد که بروید * چون بادشاه بدولت و سعادت حاب لکھو دوسه مرل رسد میرا فرمان بادشاهی را نمودند و محصل شدند که الیه شما همراه من بیائید * والده من درس اثنا گفته باشد که هرگز ار مایان خدا سر نکرده است * ایشان فرمودند اگر سها سر نکرده است شما سر همراه بروید * ما پانچ صد ار سپاهی و مهران همرا و هر دو آنکه و کوکته

میگویند * و بار فرمودند که گلدن چه شود (35h) که برادرِ خود محمد همدال میررارا نو رفته بیاری؟ حضرت والد ام گفتند که اس دحرك حورد سال است — هرگز صبر نکرده است * اگر حکم شود من بروم * آنحضرت فرمودند که من شما اس صدعات چون دهم اس خود ظاهر است که عمواری فرزندان بر مادر و پدر لارم است * اگر تشریف نرید عموارست که بر ماان میکید *

آخر امر انو الفاراه بهمراهی حضرت والد ام طالب میرا همدال فرسادی — و محمد همدال میرا بخرد شدن اس حر شرف آوردند و حضرت والد خوشحالی ها کردند و پیشوار آمدند و همراه حضرت والد میرا همدال ار الور آمدند و حضرت پادشاه را ملارم کردند و قصه شیخ بهول مذکور گفتند که حبه و حکم و اسباب شاه نگری را بشرحان میرستاد * حون صحیح رسید شیخ مذکور را ناسر آن کشتم *

عرض بعد از چند روز حر رسد که شرحان بردنک لکینو رسد * درس اثنا حضرت پادشاه بك علام سفا داشتند * از حبه آنکه پادشاه در آب جوبه از اسب خدأ شد بودند (36n) و علام سفا خود را رساند و به مدد او از گرداب سعادت و سلامت برآمدند — آخر حضرت سفای مذکور را بر تخت نشاند — و با آن علام مشخص شدند * بعضی نظام میگفتند و بعضی سئل میگفتند * عرض آن علام سفایا بر تخت نشاند و حکم فرمودند که همه امران کورش بعلام سفا نکند و علام بهر کس هرچه خواهد بخشد و منصب بدهد * ما دو روز به آن علام پادشاهی دادند * میرا همدال در آن مجلس حاضر به بودند * رحصت شده بار مالور رفته بودند از برای براق کردن — و میرا کامران بر در آن مجلس بیامدند * سماری داشتند و محضرت گفته فرستادند که علام را بخشش و رعاسهای دیگر بامست کرد — چه لارم بود که بر تخت نشاند *

آمدند و فردوس مکانی را ربارت کرده والک و همسرهارا دینک در باغ گل افشان مرل کردند *

درس اثنا نور بیگ آمد و حر آورد که حصرة پادشاه می آید *
چون ارحیه کشتن شیخ بهلول میرا همدال محبوب بودند خود را حاس
الور کشیدند *

و میرا کامران حصرت پادشاه را ملازمت کردند * بعد از چند روز ار
باغ گل افشان آمده حصرت پادشاه را ملازمت می کردند * همان روز که
حصرت آمد شب بود که رفه ملازمت کردم * آن حضرا دیدند
فرمودند که اوّل ترا بشاحم ار برای آنکه وقتی که لشکر طرائر به گور
سگاله کشد بودم — طاقی پوش بودی * الحال که لچک قصه دیدم
بشاحم — و گلدرن من ترا سیار یاد می کردم و گاهی پشیمان شدم می گفتم
که کاشکی همراه می آوردم — اما وقتی که طراب شد (35a) شکر می کردم
و می گفتم الحمد لله که گلدرن را بیاوردم — ما و خودی که عفته خورد بود
صد هزار غم و افسوس می خوردم که چرا لشکر آوردم *

و بعد از چند روز حصرت پادشاه بدین والک آمد بودند * آن حصرت
هیکل مصحف همراه داشتند * فرمودند که ساعتی مردم کاره شوند *
مردم بر حاسد * خلوت شد * آخر حصرة به آجم و اس حفر و افعالی
آه چه و گلزار آه چه و بارگل آه چه و انگه من گفتند که همدال قول
و قات من است سوعی که مارا روشائی حتم مطلوبت قوت مارو هم
مطلوب و مرغوست * روا باشد — بحیثه قضیه تیج بهلول من
میرا محمد همدال چه حوام گفت — آنچه تقدیر الهی بود شد *
الحال من هیچ غار خاطری به همدال ندارم — و اگر ماور نکید —
مصحف را برداشته بودند که حصرت والک و دلدار بیگم و اس حفر
مصحف را از دست ایشان گرفتم و همه گفتند — روا باشد — چرا چنین

حمله عایشه سلطان بیگم دختر سلطان حسن مررا و میچکا که حلیهٔ پادشاه
نام بود و بیگم خان کوکه و غنیه بیگم و چاند بیسی که هفت ماهه شکم
داشت و شادسی که اس هر سه حرمان پادشاه بودند * ارس جد کس
اصلاً و قطعاً حرم نداشتند که در آب رفتند یا حه شدند * هر حد شخص
و برد کردید اصلاً معلوم شد که چه شدند *

و شویب اشان با حیل رور کشید * بعد از آن صحت نداشت *

درس صن حشرو بیگ و دیوانه بیگ و راهد بیگ و سید امیر ار
پنش حصرة پادشاه که آمدند از طرف مررا با محمد سلطان میرا
و پسرانش باز رسید که کوچ آمدند *

و میرا همدال بعد از (31a) قلی شیخ بیلول بدلی رسید * میر فخر علی
و دولتخواهان دیگر را همراه گرفته با دفع و دفع محمد سلطان مررا
و پسرانش نکند * مررا با از اطراف گریخته طرف کوچ آمدند *
میر فخر علی مررا با دیگر ناصر در دلی در آورد * حو در میان مررا
همدال و مررا با دیگر ناصر اتحاد و اخلاص بود — میر فخر علی که اس
طور حرکتی کرد میرا همدال از فخر دلی را قتل کرده نشست *

مررا کامران که اس حرها بستند — در اشان هم داعه پادشاهی پیدا
شد * با دوازه هزار سوار مسلح متوجه دلی را شدند * بدلی که رسیدند
میر فخر علی و مررا با دیگر ناصر دروازه دلی بستند — و بعد از دوسه رور
میر فخر علی قول و قرار گرفته آمد میرا کامران را دید — و عرص کرد که
حرهای حصرت پادشاه و شر خان را باس روش شین میشود — و مررا
با دیگر ناصر از ملاحظه خود شمارا ملازمت می کند — مناسب دولت است
که درس طور وقت شما میرا همدال را گرفته متوجه آگره شوید و حبال
نشستن (31b) دلی بکشد * مررا کامران سخن میر فخر علی را بستند
و سرویا داده بدلی رحمت کردند — و خود میرا همدال را گرفته به آگره

مگر شدند و اکثر مردم اهل و عیال خود را در کشتی نالا روه آب می کشیدند با بحاجی نور پنه رسیدند *

در حین رفس قاسم سلطان در آنجا ماندند * درس اثنا حیر آمد که شیر حان آمد — و هر بار که حگ میکردند مردم حصرب غالب می آمدند * و درس اثنا نایگ ار حوهور آمد و مرک سگ ار حاده آمد و معل سگ ار (33a) اوده آمد اس سه امرا که همراه شدند عله قیمت شد * آخر حواستِ حُدا حین بود — عافل بشسه بودند که شرحان آمد رحمت * لشکر شکست یافت و اکثر اهل و مردم در اسیری ماندند — و بدستِ ماریک حصرة رحم رسید * سه رور در چاده بودند * بعد از آن به اربل آمدند و چون بر سر دریا آمدن در گذشتن حیران ماندند که بی کشتی چگونه در گذرند * درس اثنا راحه با بیع شش سوار آمده ایشان را از پای آب گذراند * مدت چهار بیع رور مردم بی طعام و شراب بودند * عاقبت الامر راحه نارار برپا کرد با مردم لشکر چند رور بعیش و عشب گذرایدند و اسان بیر آسوده شدند — و هر که بناده بوده اسپ ناره خرید * عرض راحه خدماتِ شاسه و باسته بجا آورد — و رور دیگر راحه را رحصت فرمودند و خود سعادت و سلامت بنار پیشین بر لب آب حمیه آمدند * بك حا گذر یافته مردم لشکر از آب گذشتند — و بعد از چند رور دیگر به کَرَه آمدند * در آنجا دانه و گاه وافر بود (33b) از برای آنکه ولایتِ خود بود * مردم لشکر آسوده شک نکالی رسیدند — و از کالپی کوچ کرده متوجه آگره شدند * قل از آمدن آگره حر شیدند که شیر حان طرفِ حوسه می آمد * مردم را طره اضطراری دست داد * از بعضی ها در آن فطرات اصلاً و قطعاً نام و نشان یافته شد * از آن

* (کَرَه) Text آگره Clearly an error Humāyūn was marching up the Dūāb from the junction of the Jamna and Ganges, towards Āgra

حان علام او درگور بودند * حواص حان (32a) و پسِ خود را فرساده
که بروند و گری را مضوط کنند * ایشان آمدند و گری را گرفتند —
و آنحضرت چنانکه سنگ را بشوئید بود که يك مرل پشتری
رفت * بر سر گری رسید * حنك شد * چنانکه يك رحی شد و کس
سار کشته شد *

آخر حصرة در کئیل گانو سه چهار روز بودند و مصلحت چنان شد که
کوح کرده بیشتر بروند و بريدك گری فرود آمد * حون کوح کرده بیشتر
رفته بريدك گری فرود آمدند شب شر حان و حواص حان گری شدند *
فرود آنحضرت به گری درآمدند و از گری گذشته به گور سگاله رسید
و گور را گرفتند *

با به ماه در ولایت گور بودند — و گور را حنّت آباد نام کردند و باریک
در گور بودند که حنر رسید امرا گرچه عمر را همدال ملحق شدند *
حسرو بیگ و راهد بیگ و سد امر مررا ملازمت کرده بعرض
رساییدند که پادشاه بدولت دور رفته اند — و مررا با آن که محمد سلطان
میرا و پسرانش اولع مررا و شاه میرا بار سر بر آورده اند — و هر زمان
در سکنا شان میدهند (32b) و مشیعت پاهی سدگی شیخ بهلول درس
وقت حبه و حکم و اسباب ساهگری در محته میان کرده و در اراپا
بار کرده بشیر حان و میرا با آن میسرند * مررا همدال باور می کردند *
آخر سمحه شخص اس امر مررا نور الدین محمد را فرساده * حبه و حکم هارا
نامند * سدگی شیخ بهلول را نقل رساییدند * اس حنر که به پادشاه
رسد متوجه آگره شدند و آن روی آب گنگ را گرفته می آمدند *

برابر مگیر که رسیدند امرا بعرض رساییدند که شما پادشاه کلان
اید — بهمان راهی که آمد بودید بهمان راه متوجه شوید — ما شر حان
نگوید که راه آمدن خود را مانده برآه دیگر رسید * بار آنحضرت متوجه

و چهاردهم شهر شعبان از باغ ررافشان کوچ کرده متوجه گجرات
شدند و بر سر سلطان بهادر رفتند و در محصور مقابل شدند و جنگ کرده
سلطان بهادر را شکست او گریخته بحاج چپایر رفت * آخر حصرت
خود مفید شد بعاقب کردند چپایر را گذاشته طرف احمداناد رفت *
حصرة ولایت احمداناد را هم گرفتند و مردم تمام گجرات را بنسیم
کردند و احمداناد را میرا عسکری عنایت فرمودند — و بهروچ را نقاسم
حسین سلطان دادند — و پسر را به نادگار ناصر میرا دادند — و حصرة
خود از چپایر مردم اندک بطریق سیر نه کمبایت رسید * بعد از حد
رور يك عورنی حرا آورد که — چه ششسه اید — مردم کمبایت جمع شد
به سر شما خواهد ریخت — یا حصرت سوار شوند * امرا یا حصرت
برسر اجتماع ناحسد و آنها (31 b) گیر کردند و پاره را قتل کردند —
و بعد از آن به برود آمدند * از آنجا بطرف چپایر رسید *

ششسته بودم که فرات شد و مردم میرا عسکری احمداناد را ماند
پنس پادشاه آمدند — و عرض رسانیدند که میرا عسکری و نادگار ناصر
میرا منق شده اند و به آگره می خواهد بروند * چون حصرت شنید ضرور
شد متوجه آگره شدند — و مهم و معامله گجرات پرداختند — گجرات را
برافه کوچ کرده بحاج آمدند * تا یکسال در آگره بودند *

بعد از آن بحاج حماده رفتند و حماده را و سارم را گرفتند * شیرخان
در پرکنده بود و بخدمت حصرت عرصه داشت کرد که یک پسر علام
شما است — یکبارا سرحدی سد بسته بدهد — که در آنجا ششسته باشم *

درس فکر بود که پادشاه گور سگاله رخی شد گریخته پنس حصرت
آمد و بدان حصرة مفید شدند — و کوچ کرده موحه گور سگاله
شدند * شیرخان دانست که پادشاه بگور سگاله رسید * خود هم حریک
الغار کرده بگور رفت و همراه پسر خود یکجا شد * پسر او و حواص

بیاد گله کردند که چند روز است که درس باغ شریف آورده اید — بک
 روز بحائۀ ما نه آمدند * در راثۀ حائۀ ما حوچار نکاشه اند — امیدوارم که
 در حائۀ ما بیر شریف ساربد و معرکه و مجلس ساربد * ماکی اسیمه بی
 العانیها در مانۀ اس بیچاره روا حواید داشت * ما هم دلی دارم — در
 حایهای دیگر سه مره شریف بردد و شب و روز در آنجاها بعش
 و عشرت گذرانندند * آخر (30b) پادشاه هیچ نگسند و بیمار رسد — و بک
 پهر روز برآمدن بود که همسرها و بیگمان و دلدار بیگم و افغانی آه چه و گلزار
 آه چه و موه حان و آه حان و ابیگه تارا (sic) طلیدند — و حالاً که همه
 رسم پادشاه هیچ نگسند و همه داشتند که پادشاه در قیام اند * بعد از آن
 گفتند — بعد از زمانی — که بسی سحر چه ملا از من گلیا کردی —
 و — آن همچو حای بود که گله ناست کرد * شما مداید که در حائۀ ولی
 مختار شمایان بوده ام * من ضرورت است خاطر حوئی ایشان کردن
 و ما * خود آن از روی ایشان شرمند ام که در می بینم — و دایم در خاطر
 بود که از شماان * سحلی ظلم * خوب شد که شما خود بران آوردید —
 من اموی — اگر در آمد و رفت من در بر واقع شود از من برنجید —
 و گرنه حطی نوشه دهید که رضائی شما حواه بیاند حواه بیاید که ما راضی
 و شاکرام از شما * گلرگت بیگم فی الحال همس مصموم نوشه دادند
 و نه گلرگت بیگم در بافند و سگه سگم ناره ماله کردند که عذر
 بدرار گشاهش (31a) نگرند — عرص ما از اطیار گله آن بود که مارا
 از المناب خود سرافرار ساربد — ایشان کار را ما اسما رساندند — ما
 چه چاره دارم — پادشاه اند * حطی نوشه دادند * حضرت پادشاه هم
 در بافند *

* (نا) Read as *bā tawjūd ı ān*

** (سحلی) Read in translating for سحلی, an attested writing

شکست (29b) دادند * وبعد از چند گاه حصر پادشاه خود موحه
نگراب سعادت و سلامت شد * سارخ پادرم شهر رحب المرحه
سه بصد و جهل و لك عرم حرم گراب نمودد — و پشاه در
ماع ررافشان برپا کردند — و خود در باغ مدكور با جمع شدن لشكرها
نكاه نمودد *

رورهای دیوان که نكشه و سه شه باشد — آروی آب می رعد و با
در باغ بودد اکثر رورها آحم و همشیرها و حرمان در ملازم حصر
می بودم * وارهه بالا حادر معصومه سلطان سگم — بعد از آن حادر
گلرنگ بیگم و جادر آچم بکها بود * بعد از آن حادر مادرم * گلرنگ
سگم و بیگه بیگم و عره بیگمان *

و کارخانها برپا کردند و طار نمودد * مرئه اوّل که حیمه و
حرگاه و مارگاه در باغ برپا کردند سینه دس نورت و نرس فرور آمد
بیگمان و همشیرها شریف آوردند * چون معصومه سلطان سگم بر دیگر
فرور آمد بودد بحانه اشان شریف آوردند * همه بیگمان و همشیرها
در ملازم حصر بودم * بحانه هر سگی و همشیره (30n) که شریف
می بردند همه سگمان و همه همشیرها همراه می رفتند — و فرداش در حانه اس
حیر شریف فرمودد * با سه بهر شب مجلس بود و اکثر بیگمان و همشیرها
و سگها و آغاها و آغچهها و ساردها و گوندها بودند * بعد از سه بهر
حصر آسایش فرمودد * همشیرها و سگمان همه در ملازم حصر
نکته کردند *

و بیگه بیگم بیدار کردند که وقت نماز است * حصر فرمودد که آب
وصورا در همان حانه طیار سارند * بیگم داشتند که پادشاه بیدار شدند *

* (مادرم) Cf n to trs

** (فرور) occurs elsewhere where فرود might be looked for

و حضرت نادر شاه فرمودند که آگه حاتم اگر حکم شود در حوص
آب بنامد * آگه حاتم گفند سیار خوب * خود آمد بر سر ریه نشستند
و مردم عاقل که بیکارگی شراب رده آب آمد — حوامان را طریقه اصراری
دست داده (28a) حضرت نادر شاه فرمودند دحل ندارد — هر کدام شمایان
که يك گلوله شست * و يك پارچه معجون بخورید و اریحا بدر روید — و در
ان میان هر که معجون خورد رود بر آمد و آب تا شتالگت رسید بود *
الحاصل همه معجون رسا خوردند و بر آمدند * و آتش طوی کشیدند و سروپاها
مردم نهادند و اعامها و سروپاها مردم معجون خورده و غیره دادند * در
لب حوص مالاری بود و در مالار دریچه ها انهرک گرفته بودند که حوامان
در آن مالار نشستند و باری گران باری می کردند * بارار رمانه بر کرده بودند
و کیشی هارا آئین سته بودند * و در يك کشتی مثل شش کسی و شش کج
سته بودند و در کشتی مالاحانه ساخته بودند و پانای نای ساحتی بودند
ار قسم قلعه و ناح حروس و بافرمان و لاله کاشه بودند و در يك حا
هشت کشتی کرده بودند که هشت پرچه مشد * عرض که حدای تعالی
ارس قسم اختراعات در دل مارك اشان عطا کرده بود — هر که مدید
متغیر و محصر می ماند *

دیگر شرح (28b) طوی میرا همدال آنکه * سلطان بیگم حواهر مهدی
حواجه بودند *

بره نام عمر حعفر حواجه فرزند دیگر داشتند و فرزند می شد * آگه
حاتم سلطان را بر ریدی نگاه داشه بودند و دو ساله بود که حاتمه بیگم
نگاه کرده بودند و عجاب دوست می داشتند و نه برادر راده خود داند و
طوی را در کمال لطافت و خوبی کردند *

* (سیت) This word has only the *yā* points and might yield also *sīb*, apple. Anise seems the safer remedy against chill

** (آنکه) Translated as *ān ast ki*

تصویرهای و حطّهای خوش بهاده بودند* و حانه سوم که آن را حانه مراد می‌گفتند در آن حانه حیثیت از مرضع و طریقی از صدل انداخته و نوشکهای خیال انداخته و در پایان بر بهالجهای حاصگی انداخته در پیش بهالجهاء دسترحایهای انداخته همه از ررفت خیال بود و میوه‌های الوان و شرتهای گوناگون — و همه اسباب عیش و طرب نعم میها ساخته بودند*

و روری که طوی حانه طلسم شد حکم فرمودند که تمام میررایان و بیگمان و امران همه ساجق سارند* فرموده ایتان همه آوردند — حکم فرمودند که اس ساجق را سه بوده نکند — سه حوان اشرفی شد و شش حوان شاهرجی — یکحوان اشرفی و دو حوان شاهرجی را به هدو بیگ دادند که اس حصّه دولت است — میررایان و امران و وررا و سپاهی‌ها بخش بخش — و یکحوان اشرفی و دو حوان شاهرجی را (27b) ملارمت مولا محمد فرعی دادند که اس حصّه سعادت است — اس را به اکابران و اشراف و علما و صلحا و رهّاد و مشایخ و درویش و عسّاد و فترا و مساکین بخش نکند — و یکحوان اشرفی و دو حوان شاهرجی را فرمودند که اس حصّه مراد است — از ما است — پیش بیارند* آوردند — فرمودند که شمردن چه حاجت است* اوّل خود دستِ مبارک رسانیدند و فرمودند که اوّل در یکخواجه اسرفی و در یکخواجه شاهرجی پیش بیگمان به برد* هرکی مشت مشت خودها بگیرد و باقی دو حوان شاهرجی — و همه اشرفی را قرب دو هزار بود — و شاهرجی قرب ده هزار باشد* همه را پاشیدند و نثار کردند اوّل پیش ولی نعمتان و ذکر (دگر) محاصران مجلس از صد و صد بحاه کم هیچکس یافه بود — تخصیص جماعه که در حوص بودند — سیار یافتند*

کوک و شرف شا کوک و فتح کوک و راعه سلطان کوک و ماه لقا کوک و انگهای ما و کوکهای ما و مردم بیگما و کوچ امران و مردم که در دست راست بودند — سلمه بیگه و بیسی بیکه و حاتم آعه دحیر خواحه عبدالله مروارید و نگار آعه مادرِ معل بیگ و بار سلطان آعه و آعه کوک و کوچ معمر خان و دختر میرشاه حسین (۲) عیس سگه و کسک ماهم و کالی ماهم و بیگی آعه و حاتم آعه و سعادت سلطان آعه و سی دولت تحت و نصیب آعه و عیس کالی و دیگر سگه ها و آعه کوچ امران بدس طرف نشند (26b) و همه در آن مجلس طوی حاضر بودند *

و طرح حانه طلسم بدس بتصیل — حانه کلان مثنی که در آن حا طوی دادند — حانه خورد دیگر برابر آن هم مثنی بود — و در هر دو مثنی انواع تکلف و آرایش نموده بودند — و در مثنی کلان که طوی حانه باشد — تحتِ مرصع بهاده — در بالا و پائین تخت ادسهای رردوری انداحه و شندهای مروارید او بخته بمقدار یک نیم گز دراری — هر لری دو کره آسه در پائین قریب سی چهل لری ها ساخته و آویخته — و در مثنی خورد چهرکت* (sic) مرصع بهاده و پائین و صراحی و مشرعه مرصع و طلا آلات و نمره آلات ساده در طاق ها بهاده و بحساب دیوانحانه قله رونه و دیگری بحساب ناع مشرق رونه و در رسوم بحساب مثنی کلان خوب رونه و در چهارم بحساب مثنی خورد شمال رونه — در بالای آن سه حانه مذکور سه بالا حانه بود که یکی را حانه دولت میگفتند — و در آن حانه سه اسباب سپاه گری می بود — مثل شمشیر مرصع و قور مرصع و کمر حیر مرصع و حمله و کپوه مرصع و برکش — همه مرصع و قور پوش (27a) رردوری انداحه — و حانه دوم که آن حانه سعادت میگفتند در آن حانه های نار و کتابها و فلدهای مرصع و خردایهای خوش و مرقهای لطیف مع

* (چهرکت) Several Hindustānī words occur in the M S

و کجک سَم و شاه سَم مادر دلشاد سَم دحیر مَحریان یِگم عمه پادشاه
و کجکه بَگم و آفاق یِگم دحیر سلطان محبت یِگم و میرلق یِگم عمه پادشاه
و شاد سَم بوا سَطان حسن میرا ار حابِ مادری عمه پادشاه —
و هراکمر یِگم دحیر مظفر میرا بوا سَطان حسن میرا — سار دوس
مداشد (251) و لباسِ مردانه می پوشیدند و انواع همراه آراسه هم
رخسری* تراش و حوکل ماری و سر اندازی و اکثر سارها می بواحد —
و کل یِگم و فوق سَم و خان سلطان یِگم و امروورانو یِگم و آعه سَم و
مروره سَم و برلاس یِگم*

و بیکانِ دنگرم سار بودند که متصل بود و شش یِگم — همه علوفه دار
بودند — و حداث دنگرم بودند*

بعد از طوئی طلسم طوئی میرا شدال شد — از سگان مذکور بعضی
بولات رفتند و بعضی که در آن مجلس حاضر بودند اکثر در دست راست
نشسته بودند* از بیکانِ مانا — آعه سلطان و آعاجه مادرِ بادگار سلطان
یِگم — و آنونِ مانا و سابه و سکه و بیسی حسه و حسه یِگه*

و مردم دنگر که بدستِ حَپِ پادشاه نشسته بودند بر پوشکِ رردوری —
معتصومه سلطان سَم و گلرنگ یِگم و گلخیره و اس حیر شکسه گلند
و عفته سلطان یِگم و آحم والده ما که دلدار یِگم باشد — و گلرنگ یِگم و
بیگه یِگم (26a) و بیجه مام و سلطام کوچِ امر حله و الوش یِگم و ماهد
یِگم و حورشد کوکه و کوکه رادهای پادشاه مانا — افعالی آعاجه و گلار
آعه و مارگل آعه چه و کوچِ هدو سگِ محدومه آعه و فاطمه سلطان
انگه مادرِ روش کوکه — محرساء انگه مادرِ بدم کوکه کوچِ میرا فلی
کوکه — کوچِ محمدی کوکه — کوچِ مؤنّد سگ و کوکهای پادشاه — حورشید

* (رهگیری) I read tea before tarāshī

شرح نوی خانه که در لب دریا راست کرده بودند — و نام آرا طلسم
 به بودند *

اوّل خانه کلان مشن بود و در مائه خانه حوص (21b) مشن و بار
 مائه حوص صه مشن و بالای آن گلمهای ولانی انداخته — و اکثر
 امان و صاحب حس دحرا و ربای صاحب جمال و ساردها
 و بدها، خوش آوارا حکم کردند که در حوص ششید و در پیشگاه
 به بحث مرصع که آکام در بوی عسات کرده بودند بهاده و توشک
 دوری در پیش انداخته بودند *

حضرت پادشاه و آکه حام در پیش بحث در يك توشك ششیدند *
 در دست راست آکه حام عیمهای ایشان دحرا سلطان ابو سعید میرزا
 رحمان بیگ و بدیع الحمال سگم و آق بیگم و سلطان بحث بیگم و گوهر
 اد بیگم و حدیحه سلطان بیگم ششیدند *

و در توشك دیگر عیمهای ما که خواهران حضرت فردوس مکانی
 شد — شیربانو بیگم و مادگار سلطان سگم و عاتشه سلطان بیگم دختر
 سلطان حسین مرزا والوع بیگم دختر رس سلطان سگم عمه حضرت
 پادشاه و عاتشه سلطان سگم و سلطانی سگم دختر سلطان احمد میرزا عموی
 پادشاه (25a) و مادر کلان خان سگم بیگم سلطان بیگم دختر سلطان
 خلل میرزا عموی پادشاه و ماه سگم و سگی بیگم دختر الع بیگم میرزا
 کمالی عموی پادشاه — و خاترا ده بیگم دختر سلطان مسعود میرزا از حاسب
 سادری بواسطه نامه محمد (sic) سلطان بیگم عمه پادشاه و شاه حام
 دختر بدیع الحمال بیگم — و حام بیگم دختر آق سگم و رس سلطان حام
 دختر سلطان محمود خان طعائی کلان پادشاه — و محمد سلطان حام دختر
 سلطان احمد خان که به الاحه خان مشهور بودند طعائی خورد پادشاه
 کلان و حاش خواهر میرزا حیدر دختر حاتّه پادشاه و بیگم کلان بیگم

ظم که اسيا عم گوالار را به ييد* نوکار و حواحه کير را فرساید که
سکه ييکم و عتسه سلطان ييگم را ار آگره آوردند — و دو ماه در گوالار را
بکشد بگر هم گذراشدند* بعد ار آن موحه آگره شدند — و در ماه شعل
در آگره آمدند*

و در ماه شوال به آکام شوش شکم شد* در سردهم شهر مذکور^{۹۴}
ييد و حيل ار عالم فاي عالم حاوداي حرامديد — و فرندان حصره
بادشاه نام را داع سعي ناره شد — بخصص من که اسال خود مرا برورش
ميروده بودند* مرا طرفه حالي و سطاقي و مصت صعب دست داده
بود* شب و روز گره و فغان و راري ميکردم* حصرت بادشاه چند مرتبه
آمده دلداري ها و عجمواري ها و مهرباني ها کردند* دو ساله بودم که
حصره آکام مرا در مرل (24a) خود بردند و برورش کردند و ده ساله
شدم که اشان ار عالم رحلت نمودند* ما نك سال ديگر هم در مرل
آکام بودم*

و بي که حصرت بسرد هولور رسد — در سال ياردم همراه آمم شدم
و بنش ار آنکه مگوالار رويد و عمارات را بنا کرده رسد*
و بعد ار ايش حله آکام بادشاه بدلهي شريف بردند و ساي قلعه دين ماه
سازند و به آگره آمدند — و آکه حام* محصر بادشاه گنبد که نوي مرا
هدال کي مي کند؟ حصرت گنبد سم الله — و در آن اثنا آکام حاب
بودند که مرا هدال نکاح کردند — اما موقوف اسباب نوي بودند که
سازند — فرمودند که اسباب نوي ظلم هم طار است — اول نوي ظلم
بدم* بعد ار آن نوي مرا هدال نکم* حصرت بادشاه به آکه حام
گنبد که حصره عمه چه مفرماند؟ اشان گنبد خدا مبارک و حبر
کرداد*

و هفت هزار کس خلعتِ حاص پوشايدند و چند رور شادبها
کردند *

و درس انا شيدند که محمد رمان ميرزا پدر حاجی محمد حان کوکي را
کشت (23a) و حياي ماعی شدن دارد * حصرت نادرشاه برای طلب آنها
کس فرستادند و آنها را گرفته در بيايه بند کرده بيادگار طعای سردرد —
و مردم بيادگار طعای مکی شده محمد رمان ميرزا گراسند * درس انا
سلطان محمد ميرزا و محبوب سلطان ميرزا را حکم شد که بچشم هر دو مل
کشد * در مل کشيدن محبوب کور شد و محمد سلطان ميرزا کسی که مل
کشيد بچشم مشاراليه است برساند * بعد از چند رور محمد رمان ميرزا
و محمد سلطان ميرزا و پسرانش والوع ميرزا و شاه ميرزا گريختند — و
درس حد سال که در حد بوديم هميشه عوعای آنها بود *

و حصرت نادرشاه که از لشکر س و نادر آمدند قرب نکال در
آگره بودند * به آکام عرض کردند که درس رورها دلگرم * اگر حکم
شود در ملازمت شما سبر گوالار بروم * حصرت آکام و آحم و همشيرها
معصومه سلطان بيگم را که ماه چچه مگم و گلرگت سگم را گل چچه
ميگم در ملازمت ولي عثمان در گوالار بودم *

و گلپيره سگم در اوده بودند چرا که شوهر اشان نوحه نوحا سلطان
برحمت حق پوشتد (23b) و مردم که در ملازمت بيگم بودند — از اوده
بحصرت عرصه داشت کردند که نوحه نوحا سلطان فوت شدند — سگم را
چه حکم ميشود؟ حصرت نادرشاه ميرزاچرا حکم فرمودند که رفه بيگم را
در آگره يارد — ما بير در آگره می آئيم *

درس انا حصرت آکام گفتند که اگر حکم شود سگه بيگم و عقيفه را

* (گراسند) The rebellious Mirzās were of the house of Bīyqarā
with which Māham Begam had relationship

و پادشاه که محاسب چنانچه رفته بود دولت و سعادت آمدند*
 آگام که ماهم بیگم باشد — نوئی کلان دادند و مارارهارا (22b) آس
 ستند — و پیش ارس آیین سدی مردم مارار میکردند آحرایشان مردم
 آدمی و سپاهی را هم حکم کردند با حایهای خوب و مکانهای مرغوب راس
 نکند* ار آن پس آیین سدی در همد تابع شد*

و تحت مرصع که بجهار رسته می بر آمدند بالای او ادست*^{*} رردوری
 و نوشک و تکیه رردوری انداحد و پوشش حرگاه و مارگاه اندرون
 درخت فرنگی و بیرون ارسفلات برنگالی*^{*} حویهای حرگاه و مارگاه طلا
 ملمع کرده بودند*^{*} آن بسیار ترس شده بود و عرلی**^{**} حرگاه اررکش
 گرای و کنت و سرکت و آفانه حلاحی***^{***} و شمع دان ها و مشربها و گلاب
 جاشها هم ار طلا و مرصه راست کرده بودند — و ار همه اسباب مرت
 ساحنه نوئی حوی و مرغوبی دادند*^{*} و دوارده قطار شتر و دوارده
 قطار حجر و همتاد راس اسپ سوچاق و صد راس اسپ مارگر —

* (ادستقه) This word occurs thrice in the MS *1 e*, at 22b (here), at 26b — in the plural —, and at 28b It is written clearly and confidently Nothing like it has been yielded to our search by the Dictionaries Mr Beveridge suggests (1) that it may be a corrupt and domestic form of an Arabic word '*aluqaha*' which he finds as what may be termed a corresponding word, in a description of the Peacock Throne and from this we assume the "hangings" of the translation Or (2) it may be a corruption of the Turkī *asqī* "*tout qui est suspendu pour ornement*" Zenker 58b

** (عرلی) There are no points Mr A G Ellis has kindly helped me with the suggestion I have accepted The meaning of *نوعورلوق* is "*feutrie qui recouvre la tente*" (P de C Turkī Dict. 237) As the lining of the festal tents is described in the preceding paragraph, I have placed the second among the gifts Vambery translates the word *dic obere Filzdecke des Zeltes*

*** (حلاحی) I suggest *حلاحی* on the analogy of *گلانگی* One looks for *lason* after *cicer* but the word following *آفتاده* cannot be read as *chilumchī* or any other equivalent for *bason* which I can find *Chilumcha*, *1 e* *chilumchī* occur at 72a and does not resemble the doubtful word here rendered *julabjan*

ماه از طرف گور رسیدند * نحرّذ استماع اس حصرت پادشاه ار آگره
متوجه آنها شدند و س و مابر در شکست داده به جناده آمدند — و جناده را
بیر گرفته به آگره آمدند *

و آکام که ماهم بیگم باشد سسار در طلب و آروو بودند که فرزندِ هامون را
به سیم — و هر حا که دخترِ صاحب حُس و حمال می بود — در خدمتِ
حصرت پادشاه می آوردند * و میوه حان که دخترِ حدنگ ساوول بود
در خدمتِ من بود * (بعد) از قصا حصرت مردوس مکانی روری در حیاة
خود فرمودند — هامون — میوه حان بد بیست — چرا در خدمت خود می
گیری ؟ — آخر بگفته ایشاں هامون (22a) پادشاه هان شب عقد سته میوه
حان را گرفتند — و بعد از سه رور بیگه بیگم از کابل آمدند و حامله شدند *
بعد از يك سال دحتر تولد شد و مامش را عقیقه بیگم نهادند * و آکه ماهم
بیگم را میوه حان میگفت که من بیر حامله ام * آخر آکام دو طریق * براق
طیار کردند و می گمست — هر کدام که از شماں پسر براید براق بیک را بان
مدهم — و براق سته و ندانم و چار معرار طلا و نقره راست کرده بودند —
و براق ** نالغان بیر راست کرده بودند و خوشحال بودند که شاید یکی از
اس ها پسر را بد — و چشم انتظار داشتند که بیگه بیگم عقیقه بیگم را
رائدند * الحال حشم برآه میوه حان داشتند که ده ماه شد و نارد هم ماه بیر
گذشت * میوه حان میگفت که حاله من حرم میرا الع بیگت بودند * در
دوآرده ماه پسر رائدند * من هم شاید که بدان ماسد شد باشم * و حرگاها
دوچه و بوشك ها پر کرده * آخر همه معلوم شد که هوسپک *** بوده *

* The text has no points to the *yā* of my reading. If the prop were absent the word could be read *طریق*, *ṭarāq*, ply, fold & e sets. The sense of the two passages is, I think, that Māham got together two sets of arms of which one included of those a Mughal Commander

** Text *yarāq-yalqān* for *yarāq i-illhān* (براق)

*** (هوسپک) ? an ambitious little person or a little mad-woman

کردند. — و شصت حافظِ خوشحوا و خوشالحا قاری را مقرر فرمودند که
 پنج وقت نماز بجماعت بخواند و حتم قرآن بکشد و فاتحه بارواحِ حضرت
 فردوس مکانی بخواند باشد* و سبکری که الحال (21a) پنج روز
 مشهور است دروست و مع ربادی پنج لک از بیانه وقفِ مرارِ حضرت
 کردند که برای حرجِ علما و حفاظ و غیره که تعلی مرار دارند صرف می شد
 باشد* دو وقت آش آکام بعین فرمودند. — صاحبِ بک گاو و دو گوسفند
 و پنج بر. — و نماز دیگر پنج بر* تا دوم سال که آکام در قید حیات بود
 اس طعام دو وقته از سرکار ایشان بر سر مرار بخش میکردند*

و با رمائی که آکام حیات بود در دولخانه آکام حضرت پادشاه را
 میدیدم* وقتی که آکام بد حال شدند می گفتند که بسیار مشکل میباشد
 که بعد از فوت من دخترانِ پادشاه برادر خود را در خانه کلرگ سی
 نه بپسند* گویا که سخن حضرت آکام در دل و هوشِ حضرت پادشاه
 بود. — ما در هندوستان بودیم. — دایم در خانه ما آمدن ما را میدیدند
 و مهرمانی و عیادت و شفقت بپند میکردند. — و بمصومه سلطان سگم
 و کلرنگ بیگم و گلچهره بیگم و غیره. — همه سگمان که کد خدا شده بودند. —
 حصرة پادشاه در خانه اس حبس می آمدند. — و همه بیگمان در خانه اس
 حقیق آمدن ملازمت حضرت پادشاه میکردند (21b) عرص که حضرت
 پادشاه خاطر حوی اس شکسته را بعد از وفات پادشاه نام و آکام نه چنین
 عیادت میکردند و شفقت بپند در باره اس بسیار مقرر بودند که تنبی
 و بی سری خود را نداستم*

مده ده سال که بعد از وفات حضرت فردوس مکانی. — حضرت
 حیات آشیانی در هند بودند همه مردم در رفاهت و امنست و فرمانبرداری
 و اطاعت بودند* بعد از واقعه فردوس مکانی تن* و نارید بعد از شش

برای دیدن می آید * همه برخواستند همه بیگمان را و مادران مرا بحاجه کلاں بردند * و فرزدان و حویشاں و غیره مردم را رور سیاه افاد و طرّفه راری و فرناد و فعان و بیطافی کردن گرفتند — و هرکس بگوشه پنهانی اس رور ساه داشتند *

و واقعه ایشان را پنهان میکردند * آخر الامر آرایش حان نام یکی امرای هند بود — او عرصه داشت که پنهان کردن اس امر خوب بیست ار برای آنکه در هندوسان رسم است که اگر پادشاهان را واقعه چنین دست میدهد — مردم ناراری ناراح میکند * ماده مُعلان ما داسه در حایهای و در حویلهای در آمدن ناراح نکند * مناسب آست که سَک کسی حامه سرخ پوشاند و بر فیل سوار نکند و ار بالاء فیل مادی نکند که حصرت نابر پادشاه درویش شدند و پادشاهی خود را بهمانون پادشاه دادند * و حصرت همانون پادشاه حکم فرمودند که چنین نکنید * بخرد مادی کردن مردم را حلی تسلی شد (20 b) و همه مردم دعای دولت ایشان میکردند * تاریخ هم شهر مذکور رور جمع حصرت همانون پادشاه بخت نشسد — و پادشاهی ایشان را همه عالم مبارک داد گفتند *

بعد ار آن ندیدن مادران و حواهران و مردم خود آمده — پرسش و دلداری داده نوارش و عم حوارها فرمودند — و حکم فرمودند هرکس هر مصی و خدمتی و حاجیری و حای که داشت — همه بحال خود باشد و بخدمت خود بدسور صانع قیام نماید *

و در رور مذکور میرا همدال ار کامل آمد حصرت پادشاه را ملازمت کرد * برو مهربانی ها کردند و سیار خوشحال شدند * ار حراس که ار پدر مانده بود چیر سیار عمر را همدال عنایت فرمودند *

بعد ار وفات حصرت پادشاه نانام برات و ایام سرکه اوّل معرکه برسر مرار حصرت پادشاه نانام می شد و محمد علی عیسی را متولی مرار حصرت

دست احمد چاشی گیر نه ونگو که هر طور کرده در آس خاصه مادشای
 اندارد و باو وعه سیار کرده بود * با وجود آنکه حضرت مادشای آن پید
 بدست را مادر می گفد و حا و حاگر تعین کرده رعایت کلی فرموده
 بودند — و فرموده بودند که مرا سحای سلطان ابراهیم خود بدان * اما ار
 آنجا که حیل در آن قوم غالب است رعاسهارا مطلق بداشت * مشهور
 است — در مار گردد باصل خود همه چیر * قصه مختصر آن ره که ما
 آن باورچی آورده داده بود باورچی را الله تعالی کور و کر ساخته بود که
 رهرا بالا، نانی باشند بود کمر ساول کرده بودند * اما اصل بیماری ار
 اثر همان بود که رور رور ضعف و محیف میشدند و هر رور شوش (19b)
 ایشان در براند بود و چیر مارک ایشان در نعر که فرداش همه امران را
 طلبید فرمودند که سالهای بود که در دل داشتیم که مادشای خود را بهمان
 مررا بدیم و خود در باغ ررافشان نگوشه شیم * ار کرم آلهی همه چیر
 میسر شد اما آن شد که در مدرستی خود اس امر را بکم * الحال اس
 شوش مرا ربون کرده وصیت میکنم که همه ایشان همان را بحای من داد
 — و در دولت خواهی او سسر نکند و نه او موافق و بیکجه باشد * ار حق
 سخانه امدوارم که همان هم مردم خوب بستی خواهد آمد * دیگر همان
 ترا و برادران ترا و همه خوشان و مردم خود را و بر اجدای سپارم و
 اس خارا تو می سپارم * ار اس سخان حاضران و باطران را گره و راری
 دست داد و خود هم سخان مارک بر آب گردند *

اس واقعه را اهل حرم و مردم درون شنیدند * طرفه حالی و بیطافی
 و گره و راری دست داد * بعد از سه رور ار عالم فانی عالم حاودانی
 حرامدند * تاریخ بجم ماه حمید الاول رور دوشه سه بهصد
 و بی و هفت بود که شعار شدند *

همه مارا و مادران مارا (20a) نه بهانه بر آوردند که طیبان و حکمان

و در حین بیماری حکم کردند ماکام که گلرنگ بیگم و گلچهره بیگم را
کدحدا باید کرد (18b) و هرگاه که حضرت عمه حیو* نشف ارانی
فرماید معلوم ایشان نکید که مادشاه میگوید بحاطر من میرسد که گلرنگ را
به ایس بیمار سلطان و گلچهره را به نوحه نوحه سلطان سنت نکم* آکا حام
سم کما آمدند* به ایشان گفند که حضرت مادشاه اس قسم می فرماید
که بحاطر من حین رسیدن— باقی آنچه رضای ایشان باشد— همان طور
نکند* حضرت آکه حام بر گفتند که خدا مارك و سارکاری کاد—
سیار خوب بحاطر ایشان رسید* حیجم** خود و بدیع الحال بیگم و آق
بیگم هر دو عمه بردالاں بردید* صفا*** داده و ساطها انداخته
ساعت را ملاحظه کرده بچه مام هر دو سلطانان را رانورناید به دامادی
سرافرار نکند*

درس صن نشوش سک ایشان بیشتر شد* حصرة هامون مادشاه
که احوال پدر حرابر دیدند— بار بیطاقت شدند* اطبا و حکما را
طلبیده گشتند يك ملاحظه کرده علاج شوش حضرت نمایند* اطبا
و حکما (19a) جمع شدند گفند که کم طالعی ماناں است که داروی کارگری
شود* امیدواریم ار حضرت حق سبحانه که ار حراثة عیب شفاى عاجل
عطا کند* درین حین چون نص آنحضرت دیدند— اطبا عرض رسانیدند
که علامت همان رهراست که والد سلطان ابراهیم داده بود— و
آنچاست که یک بدبخت بدست داده خود يك نوچه رهرا داده بود که برده

* (حیو) By this term of endearment *Hamida-bānū*, Al bar's mother addressed the dying *Gul badan*

** (حیجم) I believe this should be حیجم. A similar omission of the *alif* is not infrequent in the MS (cf. ماماها for ماموها (14b)) So also of the points of the *ya* and the *che*

*** (صفا) As in this MS *alif* is several times written for *ha'* *haucaz*, I translate صفا, estrade, raised seat and not صفا

قریب دو سه ماه صاحب فراش بودند و میرا همانوں بحال کالهر
رفته بودند* چون نشوش حصرت نادره پشیر شد۔ طلب حصرت
همانوں نادره کس فرستادند* ایشان نالعار رسیدند* چون حصرت
ملارمت کردند۔ ایشان را سار صعیف دیدند* حصرت همانوں نادره
رقت تمام نموده۔ بیطافنی کردن گرفتند و محمدسگاران می گفتند که نیکارگی
چرا ارس قسم رار رار گشته اند۔ واطنا و حکمارا طلبیدند و گفتند که من
ایشان را ندرست گذاشته رفه نمودم۔ نیکارگی چه شد؟ حکما واطنا
چیرها می گفتند*

و حصرت نادره نام هر رمان و هر ساعت می رسیدند که همانوں* کما
است؟ و چه کاری کد؟ درس اثنا یکی آمد گفت که پسر مر حورد سگ
میر بردی بیگ کورش میرساند* فی الحال حصرت نادره (18a) نام
ناصراب تمام طلبید پرسیدند که همدال کما است؟ کی خواهد آمد؟ چه
ملا انتظار داد* میر بردی گفت که شاهزاده کامنگار بدلی رسد اند۔
امروز فردا بخدمت خواهد رسید* درس اثنا حصرت نادره نام به میر
بردی بیگ گفت که مردك بدحت۔ شیه ام که حواهر را در کابل
کد خدا کردند و مرا در لاهور کد خدا کردند۔ برای اس طوهای پسر مرا
رودری** آوردی۔ که اسطار ار حد گشت۔ وی پرسیدند که همدال
میرا چه ممدار شد است و به که مامد است؟ چون میر بردی بیگ
حامه میرا پوشید بود نمود که اس حامه شاهزاده است که به بن عاب
فرموده اند* حصرت پشیر طلبیدند که به سم قد وقامت همدال چه ممدار
شد است۔ و هر رمان هر ساعت می گفتند که هزار درع که همدال را
دیدیم* هر کس که می آمد می رسیدند که همدال کی خواهد آمد؟

* (همایون) This is probably a clerical error for *Hundāl*

** (نمی) The text has no negative but it is required by the context.

حویش دندند— وار آنجا هر دو— مادر و پسر— ماند عیسی و مریم متوجه آگوه شدند *

و در حی که ناگه در رسیدند— اس حقیر همراه همشیرها ملارمت آن حضرت مرستهٔ حصال رفته کردم— چون ضعیف ایشان بیشتر از پیشتر بود در این وقت هرگاه که آن حضرت بهوش حویش می آمدند از ربان درافشان حویش پرستی می فرمودند که حواهران حویش آمدید— بیائید با یکدیگر را دریابیم که شمارا در بیامه ایم * قرب سه مرتبه سرافرار کرده از ربان گوهرافشان خود ناس عارت سرافرار فرمودند * و چون حضرت آمدند و دریافند— بخرد دیدن آن جهرهٔ نورافشان در کلفت و رفت شد و ایشان پیشتر از پیشتر اظهار بیدلی کردن گرفتند * درین اثنا حضرت (17a) آگام گمشد که شما از فرزند من عاقلید— و پادشاه اند چه عم دارید— و فرزندان دیگر بر دارند * مرا عم است که فرزند یگانه دارم * حضرت جواب دادند که ما هم اگر چه فرزندان دیگر دارم— اما هیچ فرزندی برابرهایون تو دوست نمی دارم— از برای آنکه سلطنت و پادشاهی و دیبای روش از برای یگانهٔ جهان و پادشاه دوران کامگار بر حوردار فرزند دلشد هانوی میخوام— نه برای دیگران *

وقتی که ایشان بیمار بودند حضرت روبه حضرت مرصی علی کرم الله وجهه نگاه داشتند— و آن روبه را از رور چهار شسه نگاه میدارند * ایشان از اضطراب و بیطاعتی از رور سه شسه نگاه داشتند * هوا بعبایت گرم بود * دل و حگر ایشان بنید— و در روبهٔ مذکور دعا خواستند که حدانا— اگر بعوض جان جان مدلل شود— من که نایرام— عمر و جان خود را بهمانون بخشیدم— و در همان رور حضرت فردوس مکانی را تشویش شد (17b) و همانون پادشاه بر سر خود آب ریختند و بیرون آمدند باز دادند و حضرت پادشاه نام را از جهة تشویش درون بردند *

سيدات شکر بها آوردند و مویحه آگره شدند. و نیمه بیگمان حولیا
عانت فرمودند و بعد از چند روز سر باغ ررافشان رسید *

و در باغ مذکور و مویحه بود * آنرا که دیدند فرمودند. دل من از
قلب و پادشاهی گریه در باغ ررافشان کوشه ششم. و از برای
خدمت داری شاهزاده ای من بسیار است. و پادشاهی را به هانوی بدم *
درین سال حضرت آقام و همه فرزندان گریه و سطاپی کرده گشتند که
بدای مال شمارا در همه پادشاهی سالیای بسیار و قریبای بیشتر در امان
خود بده دارد و همه فرزندان (16a) در قدم شما نکمال پیری رسید *

بعد از چند روز آلور سررا بیمار شدند و بیماری ایشان بدرد شکم کشید
که هر چند حکیم ها و اطباء علاج کردند. بیماری ایشان بیشتر از پیش
شد. آخر همان بیماری از عالم فانی عالم حادوانی حرامیدند * حصرت
را بده بسیار است و عم خوردند * و البته سررا آلور که دلدار بیگم باشد.
از عم و عتبه آن فرزند. که مادر حیان و گناه عصر بود. سودا پیدا
کردند * چون دلگیری از حد گذشت حصرت پادشاه ماکام و بیگمان
گشتند. مانند. سر دهلور بروم. و خود در کشتی نشسته سعادت
و سلامت از آب گذشتند و دهلور مذکور رسید * بیگمان سر میخواستند
که در کشتی نشسته از آب بگذردند *

که در اس ائنا عرصه داشت مولانا محمد فرغری ' از دهلوی آمد * نوشته
بود که همانوں سررا بیماراند و حال غمی دارند شدن اس حر حصرت
سکرم رودی رود مویحه دهلوی می ماند شود که سررا (16b) بسیار سطاپی
میکند * بعد از شدن اس حر حصرت آقام سطاپی کرده * مانند
نشته که مشهور آب باشد. بحساب دهلوی مویحه شدند * در متهره رسیدند
چاپچه شده بودند از آن ده چند مصعوف و مجهول پنجم جهان بین

* Sic Parghūli is the usual form (فرغری)

و دریای افتادم و حصرت برشش بسیار نمودند * رمای در نعل ششاید و این
 حنبر را در آن اثنا آند در خوشحالی روی نمود که مردی بر آن متصور
 باشد *

بعد از آمدن آگره سه ماه گذشته بود که حصرت نادر شاه متوجه دهولپور
 شدند و حصرت ماهم بیگم و اس حنبر به سر دهولپور رفتم * در دهولپور
 حوضی ده در ده راست کرده بودند از یک پرچه * از آنجا سیکری رفتند *
 صفت کلانی در میان کول حکم کردند که راست نکند * وقتی که آن
 راست شد در کشتی شسته آنجا میرفت و سر می کردند و می نشستند —
 که با حال هم آن صفت مذکور هست * و در سیکری در ناع چو کدی هم
 راست کرده بودند * حصرت نادر شاه نام در آن چو کدی * نوحه بر پا
 کرده در آن شسته مصحف می نوشتند *

و من و افعالی آغاچه در پیش در پان شش بودم که آقام نثار
 رفتند * من با افعالی آغاچه گفتم که دست مرا نکشید * افعالی آغاچه دست
 مرا کشیدند * دست من بر آمد و من (15b) بیطاقتی و گریه کردن گرفتم *
 آخر کما گرا آورده دست مرا بسته موحه آگره شدند *

و در آگره رسیدن بودند که حر آوردند که بیگما را کابل می آید *
 حصرت نادر شاه نام پیشوار آکه حام که عمه کلان من و حواهر کلان
 حصرت نادر شاه نام بودند با نوگرام پیشوار رفتند و همه بیگما در ملازمت
 آکه حام در مرل ایشان ملازمت کردند * خوشحالهها نمودند و

* Erskine (202n) says "perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing" Chardin (*Voyage en Perse*) has a picture of a grandee seated within an enclosure (at sides and back) which as he sits, appears to reach his shoulders. Perhaps this is a *tūr-khāna*. Zenker describes it as a seat of honour of the nature of a throne. It would supply a necessity of Indian life, if one might read *ṭān*, net, and allow the royal author a mosquito room

وفی که آکام شش پادشاه نام می آمدند مرا حکم کردند که در روز
روشن آمدن حضرت را ملازمت کنید *

ه رکب و دو بوقور است و دو محافه کوبل که پادشاه نام فرساده
بودند و یک محافه که از کابل آورده بودند — قریب صد معالای خدمتگاران
آکام بر اسباب و حاق سوار بر رست و رست *

و حلیه نام با سلطانم کوچ خود ما نوگرام پیشوار آمدند و من در محافه
بودم * مامیای من در مانچه مرا فرود آورده بودند و رلجه (sic) انداخته
مالای رلجه مرا نشانید و من اموختند که وفی حلیه نام بیاید شما اساده
شده در باند * چون حلیه نام آمد من اساده در مانم * درس صص
سلطانم (۱۱۱) کوچ اشان هم آمد * من ناداسه میخواستم که بر حرم که
حلیه نام بیاید ماله پش نهادند که اس پیر داه شما است — مان بر حاشی
حاحت نیست * بدر شما اس بر علام خود را سرافرار کرده اند که در ماب
او ایچین حکم فرموده اند * روا باشد بدها را چه محال است ؟

بشکش حلیه نام بح هراش شاهرچی و بیچ اسپ گرم و سلطانم کوچ
اشان سه هراش شاهرچی و سه اسپ بشکش کرد و گفتم — ما حاصری
طنار است اگر بوش حان کسد سرافراری سدها خواهد بود * قول
کردم — در حای خوب ضعه کلان راست کرده و چادر سفلات سرج
اندرون در رعت گهای و شش شامانه سفلات و ررعت — هر کدام یک
ریگت و چهار حوقه سرافرده سفلات و چوبهای سرافرده هم ریگت بود *
در مرل حلیه نام ششم — ما حاصری کشید ما قریب پنجاه (sic) گوسفند
بریان و مان و شرمت و موه سیار * عاقبت الامر طعام حورده در محافه
در آمد در ملازمت حضرت پادشاه نام آمد ملازمت (۱۵۵) کردم

* (۱۵) What follows appears to be an incomplete and perhaps mis-
placed description of Akām's cortège

مراحت بحال آمد و رفت سوداگر و غیره برساند و گذارد با مرفه
الحال و فارغ المال آمد و رفت یابد *

روزی که به رعنا سگا جنگ خواهد شد در شب آن قاسم حسین
سلطان بواسطه دحری سلطان حسین میرزا که پسر عاتشه سلطان بیگم
باشد در شب مذکور حیر آمد که قاسم حسین میرزا از حراسان
آمد در ده گروهی رسید * (13b) حضرت را از استماع اس حرحوش
حالی گئی روی نمود * فرمودند که چه مدار کس همراه دارد ؟ چون
محقق نمودند سی حئل سوار بود فی الحال هزار سوار مسلح و مکمل بم
شب فرستادند که همان شب همراه شده آمدند با مردم عم و سگانه
داند که کومک آمد رسید و بوقت آمد * هر که اس رای و دبیرا شنید
سیار پسندید *

و صاحب آن که ماه حمید الاول^{۹۳۳} سه به قصد وسی و سه بود در دامن
کوه سیکری که الحال فتح پور بر بالای آن کوه آبادان شده به رعنا سگا
جنگ صف شده عات آلفی فتح کردند و عاری شدند *

بعد از فتح رعنا سگا بعد يك سال آكام که ماهم بیگم باشد از کابل
به بدوستان آمدند و اس حفر هم همراه اشان بیشتر از همسرهای آمد
حضرت پادشاه نام را ملازمت کردم و آكام در کول رسیدند که
حضرت پادشاه دو محافه سه رکیب فرستادند * از کول ناگه ایلعار
کرده رسید و حضرت پادشاه حال داشتند که ما کو محلالی پیشوار
(11a) روند * پادشاه یکی آمد گفت که حضرت را در دو گروهی
گذاشته آمدم * حضرت پادشاه نام با اسب آوردن محمل نکردند
و پیاده روان شدند و در پیشخانه بیخه ماهم در حورددند * آكام میخواستند
که پیاده شوند * پادشاه نام نمادند و خود در حلوی آكام با حانه خود
پیاده آمدند *

شدند و اظهار بی دلی میمودند و (12b) مردم لشکرا چون باس
حالت دیدند ملاحظه کلی نمودند* چون عیم بردنک رسید ندیری که
مخاطر مبارک ایشان رسد اس بود که جمع امرا و حواین و سلاطین و وضع
و شرف و صعر و کسر که ارگرمخته گان و باعی آنچه ماند بودند باقی را
حکم فرمودند که همه جمع شوند* هر يك جمع شد آمدند* فرمودند که هیچ
میدانند که میانه ما و وطن و شهر مالوف ما چند ماهه* راه است* خدا
ار آن رور نگهدارد که اگر مردم شکست حورید— بعد ناله— ما کجا
و وطن و شهر ما کجا که کار مردم احسی و نگاه می افتد* پس همان بهتر
که خود را باس دوش قرار باند داد که اگر عیم را می گشتم— عاری می
شوم و اگر گشتم می شوم— شهید می شوم* بهر دو بعدر بهود ما است
و درخته عطا و مرته علیاست*

همه يك دل شد قبول کردند* برن طلاق و مصحف سوگند حوریدند و
فایحه خواندند و گفتند— پادشاه اشاء الله تعالی ما رمی در حال و در بدن
خواهد بود— در حال سپاری و حال نثاری خود را معاف (13a) میدارم*
و قل از جنگ رعما سگانه دو رور پیشتر حصرت پادشاه از شراب
نوبه کرده بودند— تلك از جمیع ماهی نوبه کردند— و بجهه موافقت و
ممانعت چهار صد حوان نامی که دعوی مردانگی و نکلی و لك جهی می
نمودند— در آن مجلس بطویل حصرت پادشاه آنها سر نوبه کردند و جمیع
آلات ماهی و طلا آلات و نمره آلات از پباله و صراحی و غیره همه را شکسته
نفرا و مساکین بخش کردند*

و فرمانها باطراف و حواسب ساکد تمام فرستادند که از ناح و نغما و رکاة
حوبات و نکلیات ما مشروع همه را معاف کردم— که هیچ احدی و فردی

پارهٔ سگ حوص ده در دهی فرموده بودند وی گفت که هرگاه این
حوص طیار شود شراب پر حوام کرد* چون قل ار حگ رعنا* سگا
که ار شراب نوه کرده بودند شربت لیمون پر کردند*

** بعد از فتح سلطان ابراهیم بعد از یکسال رعنا از طرف مدو
(or هندو) پیدا شد لشکری حد*

ارامرا و راحها و رانا هر کدام که آمدن حضرت مادشاه را ملازمت کرده
بودند—هرهه یاعی شد رعنا روه پیوسند ما کول حلالی و سهیل
و رابری همه پر گهاری و راحها و افعانان یاعی شدند* قریب دولک
سوار جمع شد*

درس ولا محمد شرف محم با مردم لشکر گهه که مناسب دولت آست
که حضرت مادشاه حگ نکشد— که ستاره شکر*** بلدور در برابر
است* لشکر ادشاهی را عجب هیرانی دست داد و سیار متعکّر و منالیم

* (رعنا) Perhaps a sarcasm is intended by changing the title *rānā* into the epithet *ra nā*—a foolish admirer of himself. *Sangā* is always so stigmatized, but so too are other and friendly *Rānās*. Cf 48b

** (مدو) Text uncertain. The enemy came from the side which from a military stand-point, was emphatically Hindū and also may be said colloquially to have come from the direction of Mandū.

*** (سکر) I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for the interesting information in the following note. The سکر (Venus) of the text is, he believes, a mistake for سگر, *Salkiz*, eight, the Eight Stars being regarded as unpropitious by Persians. Gul-badan has perhaps confused the portents of a defeat by Shaibānī at Khwāja Kārdzīn in 1501 and the battle of Khānwā in 1527. Bābar's statement about Khānwā is that Sharif gave warning that Mars was in the west and that whoever should come from the east, would be defeated.

Bābar has a characteristic story of his having precipitated the fight at Kārdzīn (1501) because the Eight Stars were exactly between the opposing armies and if he had delayed, they would have favoured Shaibānī for 13 or 14 days. "These observances were all nonsense and my precipitation was without the least solid excuse." He lost the battle. Cf Steingass Pers Dict 689, Vullers II 310a, Mems 92, 353, 368

ما گردد* حق سبحانه ممالك هندوستان را بنا عطا کرده ببايد ما دولت را
هم بسهم *

وار دختر سلطان ابو سعيد ميرزا همت بيگم آمد بودند. گوهر شاد
سگم و محرم حيان بيگم و حديجه سلطان بيگم و بدیع المحال بيگم و آق
بيگم و سلطان محبت. و در سب سلطان حاتم دختر رعائي پادشاه سلطان محمود
خان و محبت سلطان حاتم دختر الاجه خان رعائي خورد حضرت پادشاه
بودند* قصه مختصر همه بيگمان و خانمان بود و شش (11b) کيس بودند*
بيسه آيا حاي و حاگر و اعامات خاطر خواه معين کردند*

و مدت چهار سال که در آگره بودند هر روز جمعه بدیدن عيماي خود
میرسد* يك روز خواست گرم بود و حضرت آکم گنبد که هوا بعات
گرم است. اگر يك جمعه برويد چه شود؟ بيگمان ارس مي بخواند
و محمد* پادشاه ما آكام گنبد. مام ار بو عجب است که اين سخنان
مگوئي* دختران حضرت ابو سعيد سلطان ميرزا که ار پدر و برادران
خود جدا شده اند. من اگر خاطر حوي ايشان بکم حوس شود؟
مخواه فاسم معمار حکم کردند. خدمتي حوت مسترمام و آن است
که عيماي ما هر کاري و يا ميبي در درياهه داشته باشد. سخا و دل
خود خدمات در بانه ولي نعمتان را سدم رساني*

و در آگره آروي آب عمارت فرمودند و خانه سگين که خلوتخانه
ايشان ميايه حرم و ناع و در ديوانخانه هم خانه سگين راست کرده
بودند. و در ميان خانه حوضي و حيار خمره در حيار برج خانه. و در
کار دريا (12a) چوکدي راست کرده بودند. و در دهليور هم ار يك

* (آکم) Up to this point this alternative name of Māham has been
written آکم Now (as elsewhere in some other words) the orthography
of the writer improves and the correct spelling is given ام آکه ام
= my Lady

وسگماں وآعه‌ها وانگها وکوکها وآعه‌حه‌ها و همه دعاء گویاں ار
حراؤ* واشرفی (10b) وشاهرجی وپارچه حُدا حُدا بدهد* ار روی
مفصل بدس ترتیب دادند* با سه رور در باغ و دیوانخانه مدکور
حوشمالی و معرکه داشتند* سرامر گشتند و بدعا و دولت حضرت فائحه
خواندند — و حوشمال شد سخداث شکر بخا آوردند*

و بدست حواحه کلان سگ بعوی عیس** بک اشرفی کلان نورن
سه سر بادشاهی که پائیده سر همد باشد و بخواحه گهه بودند — اگر
عیس ار شما پرسد که حضرت بادشاه من چه فرساده است — خواهید
گفت که بک اشرفی — و حوون فی الحقیقه یکی بوده نعمت کرده با سه
رور کاهید* حکم بود که اشرفی را سوراخ کرده و حشمشرا سته و در
گردش انداخته دروون حرم فرسید* بخرّدی که اشرفی سوراخ کرده در
گردش انداخته ار گرانی طروه بیطاقی و اضطراب و حوشمالی میکرد
و به دو دست اشرفی را گرفته طرفگیها میکرد که کسی اشرفی مرا نگیرد —
وار بیگان هم هر کدام ده دواورده اشرفی دادند با قریب همداد و (11a)
هشاد اشرفی شد*

و بعد ار آمدن حواحه کلان بیگ نکابل — در آگره همانون بادشاه و همه
مسراناں و سلطاناں و امرا ار حراها بخش کردند — و باطراف و حواص
و ولاتها فرمانهای ماکد فرستادند که هر کس که در ملازمت ما بیاند
رعایتهاى کلى خواهیم کرد* علی الخصوص آنهاى که پدر و اما و اجداد
مارا خدمت کرده اند — اگر بیایند در فراخور انعامات خواهد
یافت — و ار سل صاحب قران ما چنگیر حای هر که باشد متوجه درگه

* حواهر Sic, but presumably (حراؤ)

** (عیس) For remarks on this passage cf note to translation

ابراهيم بك لك و هشاد هزار سوار داشت و با هزار پيچيد رحمر ميل
مست (9b) و لشكر حضرت پادشاه خود مع سوداگر و بك و بدر دواړه
هزار كپس بوده و سپاهی كار آمدنی بپاشش شش هفت هزار كس بود *
و حراة بيع پادشاه بدست اشان افتاد و همه را بخش كردند * درس
اثناء امرای هندسان عرض كردند كه در هندسان عيب است حزنه
پادشاهان ماضی را حرج كردن بك حزنه را اضافه نموده نموده جمع كند
و حضرت بر عكس آن كردند كه تمامی حربه ها را بخش كردند *

و حواحه كالان سنگ چند مره رحصت كالل طلیدند كه مزاج من
بنوای هند موافق است * اگر رحصت شود چند گاه در كالل آنها ناهم —
و حضرت بخدای حواحه اصلاً اصلاً و قطعاً راضی بودند * آخر حو
دیدند كه حواحه سار مالعہ دارند رحصت دادند و فرمودند كه چون
مروند بخنه و هدیه هدر را كه از فتح سلطان ابراهيم بدست افتاده بولی تعبیل
(sic) و هشیرها و اهل حرم میخواهم فرستم (sic) — همراه برند و متصل بوشه
میدهم * از روی متصل (10a) قسم نمائند و بگویند كه در باغ و دواخانه
هر کدام بندگان سربازها و حادرها علاحد نرند — و معركه حوی کرده
و بحد شكر حق سبحانه و تعالی آورند كه فتحی کلی روی نموده و بفریگی بدس
متصل رساند — بك پسر حاصه از پانرا سلطان ابراهيم با بك ركبی طلا
بر حواهر و لعل و مروارید و نافعوت و الماس و زمرد و مروره و ربرجد
و عن الھر — و در حوائجه صدقی بر اشرفی و در دو حواں دیگر
شاهرجی و هر حسی پارچهای بوقور بوقور كه چهار حواں و بك ركبی
و بك پسر و بك ركبی حواهر و هريك حواں از هر حسی اشرفی
و شاهرجی كه حكم کرده بود و ركبی حواهر و همان پانرا كه به ولی تعبیل
خود بپشكش کرده ام برده گذراند و دیگر بپشكش کرده ام آنها را در
عقب آن گذراند — و حواهران و فریدان و حرمان و خوشاوندان

و بدحشان را بهمان پادشاه دادند. و همان پادشاه متوجه آنصوبه گشت *

حضرت پادشاه و آکم هم متعاقب بدحشان رسید و جد روری با یکدیگر بهم گذراند * حضرت همان پادشاه آنجا ماندند و پادشاه مام و آکم نکابل آمدند *

و بعد چند گاه موحه قلات و قندهار شدند و در ساعت که قلات رسید فتح کرده متوجه قندهار شدند. و مردم قندهار با یکم سال در قلعه بندی بودند * بعد یکم سال محکم و حذل سیار قندهار را رعایت آلهی فتح نمودند و در سیار بدست افاده و سپاهی و مردم لشکر ررها و شترها بخش کردند. و قندهار را بمیرا کامران دادند. و خود متوجه کابل شدند *

رور حُمه عره صر سه بهصد و سی و دو که آقاب در برج قویس بود. پیش خانه بر آورده از پشه يك لنگه گذشته (98) در حلگه دبه بغوب رول احلال فرمودند * دیگر از آنجا مقام کردند و رور دیگر کوچ نکوی متوجه هندستان شدند *

و از سه بهصد و سی و پنج درس هفت هشت سال چند مرتبه لشکر محاب هندوسان (810) که کرده اند در هر مرتبه ولایتی و برگه تجریمی نموده اند. مثل بهره و محور و سیالکوت و دیپالپور و لاهور و غیره با آنکه مرتبه پنجم رور حُمه عره صر سه بهصد و سی و دو از دبه بغوب رول احلال کوچ نکوی متوجه هندستان شدند و لاهور و سرهند و هر ولایت که در سر راه بود فتح کردند. و تاریخ هشتم ماه رجب رور حُمه سه در پایت سلطان ابراهیم بن سلطان سکندر بن بهلول لودی حگت صف کرده. رعایت آلهی غالب آمدند. و سلطان ابراهیم در آن حگت کُشه گُشه. و اس فتح محص از رعایت آلهی بود. از برای آنکه سلطان

دایم درس هوس بودند که در هندسان (sic) در آید و ارسپیت رائی
امرا و ناموایی برادران مبسر و مسخری شد * آخر الوقت که برادران
رفتند و از امرایان هیچو کسی نماند که خلاف مقصود ایشان تواند حکامی
کرد. — در سه بهصد و بیست و پنج سحوررا سحنگ در دوسه گری
گرفتند. — و مردم سحوررا قل عام کردند *

و در روز مذکور ملك منصور بوسفری که پدر افعالی آغاچه باشد —
آمد حضرت را ملازمت (8a) کرد * حضرت پادشاه دخترش افعالی
آغاچه را گرفته در عهد خود در آوردند و ملك منصوررا رحمة دادند —
واسپ و سروپای پادشاهانه * عایت فرمودند که رفه مردم و رعایا و
غیره را آورده بوطنهای خود امانان سارد *

و قاسم بیگ که در کابل بود عرصه داشت فرستاد که شاه راده بو تولد
شد * شکون فتح هد و نخت املش گستاخی کرده بوشه ام * دیگر پادشاه
صاحب اند — هرچه رضای ایشان * پادشاه در ساعت میرا همدال نام
بهادند *

و بعد فتح سحور بحاص بهره روان شدند و در بهره آمدند و بالا نکرده
الامان داده چهار لك شاهرجی گرفته مردم لشکر بعدد بوکر تقسم کرده
متوجه کابل شدند *

درس اثنا از مردم بدحشان عرصه داشت آمد که میرا حان فوت
شد — میرا سلیمان حور د سال و اورنگ بردك — فکر اس ولایت نکید
که ماده بدحشان از دست برود * تا فکر بدحشان کردن والده میرا
سلیمان میرای (8b) مذکور را گرفته آورده بود * حضرت پادشاه حسب
المدعا و خاطر حواء ایشان حای شپست و حاگیر پدر تعین نمودند

* (نادساهانه) The M.S. writes indifferently نادساه and نادساه
With equal caprice it inserts zamma, hamza, under-dotted sin, &c.

وار دلدار بیگم گلرنگ بیگم و گلچهره بیگم و همدال مررا و گلندس بیگم
و آلود مررا *

عرص که گرس کابل را شگون گرفته بودند که همه فرزدان در کابل
شد اند عردو بیگم که در حوست شد اند مهرخان (sic) (7a) بیگم ار
ماه بیگم و گلرنگ سگم ار دلدار سگم *

نولد حصرت هائون پادشاه که پسر کلال حصرت فردوس مکانی اند —
ولادت مارك ايشان در شب سه شنبه چهارم دی قعدۀ ۹۱۳ بهصد
و سیرده — در ارك کابل در وقت که آفتاب در برج حوت بود — نولد
شدند — و در همان سال حصرت فردوس مکانی خود را فرمودند به امرا
و سایر الناس که مرا ناصر پادشاه گوئید والا اوایل قیل ار نولد حصرت
هائون پادشاه مررا ناصر موسوم و مرسوم بودند ملك همه پادشاه رادهای را
میرا می گفتند و در سال نولد ايشان خود را ناصر پادشاه گویایند * تاریخ
نولد حصرت حنّ آشیانی سلطان هائون حان یافه اند — و دیگر شاه فیروز
قدر نامه اند *

و بعد ار نولد فرزدان حمر آمد که شاهی بیگ حان را شاه اسماعیل
کشت *

حصرت پادشاه کابل را ناصر میرا داده خود اهل و عیال و فرزدان
که هائون پادشاه و مهرحان بیگم (7b) و نابول میرا و معصومه سلطان
سگم و میرا کامران باشد — همراه گرفته متوجه سمرقند شدند — و نامداد
شاه اسماعیل فتح سمرقند کردید — و با هشت ماه تمامی ماور الیهر در تحت
نصرف ايشان بود — وار ناموافقی برادران و محالعت اهل محل در کول
ملك ار عید الله حان شکست یافتند و سواستد در آن ولایت بود * پس
حاجب بدحشان و کابل متوجه شدند — و دیگر خیال ماور الیهر ار سر بر
کردید — و در سه بهصد و ده ولایت کابل میسر شد * ۹۱۰

در لری (۱) کوه سی ماه روی آتش حواعم انداخت و شام در بالای
حراره آتش اندر دما دام که از آمدن ما حیردار شده اند * وقت
ضیاع از آفتاب شد و از این جانب ما مملکت عجم خواهم شد * اما ما آمدن
مردم فعله حسرت حاکم کرده و فتح کرده بودند *

مرزا جان در خانه والد خود که حاکم پادشاه بودند - بیان شدند *
آخر حرم سر خود را آورده - پناه طلبیدند - و مرزا محمد حسن در
خانه کوچ خود که - از خورد پادشاه بود - از و هم جان خود را در معرض
انداخته خدمه دربار را شکست که برید * عاقبت الامر مردم پادشاهی
حیردار شدند - مرزا محمد حسن را از معرض سر آورده بنش پادشاه
وردند - عاقبت از امر حیرت به طر حالای خود گناه مرزا محمد
حسن را حسدند - و خانه حلی حالای خود دستور داد و رفت هر
رو به و رعایت خاطر بنشیند از بنشین مکررند ما عار خاطر گشت محاطر
حالای بنشیند و در راحت جا و خاک بر من نمودند *

و کابل را (۲) از قبل مرزا جان حاضر ساخته خدای تعالی نشان
ارزی داشت - و در آفتاب بیست و سه ساله بودند و هیچ فرزندی
نداشتند و در آرزوی فرزند سار بودند - و در بنده سالگی از عاقله
سلطان بیگم دحیر سلطان احمد مرزا - دحیری بولد شده بود و در سر مایگی
موت شد - و کرم کابل خدای تعالی مبارک کرده که هشت فرزند شد *

اول از آنکه که ماه سگم باشد - حضرت همایون پادشاه و نابول مرزا
و میرحسان سگم و اشان دولت سگم و فاروق مرزا *

دویم معصومه سلطان بیگم دحیر سلطان احمد مرزا - در حسن رانیدن
قوت شد * نام مادر را بدحیر مامند *

و از گلرخ بیگم کامران مرزا و عیپکری مرزا و شاهرخ مرزا و سلطان
احمد مرزا و گلغدار بیگم *

دریاسد * بدیع الرماں میرا ار حجة تعظیم بادشاه پیش آمد دریاسد * در
اس اثنا بادشاه ار در درآمد * میرا عاقل بودند که قاسم بیگ قوطه
حصرت بادشاه را گرمه کشید با برتوق سگ و دو النون سگ گفت
که قرار جین داده بودند که میرا پیش درآمد دریاسد * درس اثنا میرا
ماضطراب تمام پیش درآمد حصرت بادشاه را دریاسد *

وحد روری که در حراساں بودند میرا باں هر کدام تکلیف میرماں
می نمودند و حشهای میکردند و تمامی باغات و محلات را سیر می نمودند *
میرا باں تکلیف رستان نمودند که توق نمایند که بعد ار رمساں باورنگ
حنگ می کنیم * اما اصلاً و قطعاً نتوانستند محنگ قرار داد *
مدت هشتاد سال حراساں را سلطان حسین میرا انا دان و معمور ساخته
بود — اما میرا باں با شش ماه توانستند که حای پدر را نگاه دارند *

و چون بادشاه ایشان را بی پروا دیدند محقه حرج و حراحت ایشان (5b)
حایا تعیین نموده بودند و نهانه دیدن آنها حساب کابل روان شدند *
و در آن سال برف سیار ناریک بود * راهها غلط کردند * حصرت و
قاسم بیگ ار برای بردن ک راه — اس راه را احیار نموده بودند و الا امرای
دیگر کگایش داده بودند * حون که گفته امراها نکردند — اس ها هر یک
تعافل کرده — میروند * حصرت و قاسم سگ مع پسران خود تا سه چهار
رور برف دور کرده راه را طیار میکردند و مردم لشکر ار عفت میگذاشتند *
باں روش تا بفرسند رسیدند و در آنجا ار هراهای باعی بحصرت و
خورده هنگ کردند * ار گاو و گوسفند سیار و اشیای بیشمار ار مردم
هراها بدست مردم بادشاهی افاد و باولحه بیحد موحه کابل شدند *

در پای مار که رسیدند — شنیدند که میرا حان و میرا محمد حسین
کورکان باعی شده اند و کابل را قل دارند * مردم کابل حصرت بادشاه
فرمایهای دلداری و دلاهای نوشته فرستادند که مردانه باشید — ما هم آمدیم *

حامرا ماندند * صاحبانِ باغ که مردم وکیل ** انکه *** باشد — یکفرار
نکه مثقالی داده گذاشتند *

درس اتنا فرمانهای سلطان حسین میرزا ساکند آمدند که ما (4b)
خیال حکم ناوردگ آ دارم * اگر شما هم بیایید سیار حوست * حصرت
آمعی را از حدنا میطلبیدند * عاقبت الامر سوی ایشان روانه
گشتند * در انهای طی طریق حرامند که سلطان حسین میرزا شنار شدند *
امرای حصرت بادشاه عرض رسانیدند که چون سلطان حسین میرزا شنار
شدند — مناسب است که سرگشته نکال باید رفت * حصرت فرمودند که
چون ابعندار راه آمدن ایم میرزا عرایسی نموده برردیم * عاقبت الامر
متوجه حراسان شدند * چون از تشریف آوردن بادشاه که میرزایان شنیدند
هر سه ناسفقال روان شدند — غیر بدیع الزمان میرزا که برتوق^{۱۱} یگ
ودو الون یگ که امرائی سلطان حسین میرزا بودند — چنین گفتند که
چون بادشاه از بدیع الزمان میرزا حوردد پانزده^{۱۵} ساله — مناسب جان
است که بادشاه را نورد در یاسد * درین اثنا قاسم یگ گفته که سال
حوردد اما تنوره کلاسد — از برای آنکه جند مرنه نصرب شمشیر فتح
سرفرد کرده اند * آخر چنین قرار دادند (58) که یکمرتبه بادشاه را نورد

* Used transitively (ماندند) So too at 59a &c

** ویصل (وصیل) Text

*** (انکه) This word may be *atka* or *anaga* and is to be explained by the known ownership of the garden which was made by Bābar's paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg But for the undotted "prop", it might have been read as *انکه* and as referring to Khān zāda Begam or Māham, Bābar's wife, both of whom, as will be noticed, are styled *āka* (*janām*) and *āka* respectively Cf a use of *انکه* p 28b

† (ناوردگ) Vamber's derivation of this multiform word, "Özbeğ, his own master, independent" (History of Bokhara, 245) is at least *ben trovato* and in congruity with the acts of the tribe But several careful writers, Blochmann amongst them, have chosen the form *Uzbak*

†† (برتوق) Text, sic for برتوق

لاریک حوایق — باس طور حال بی براق نوگل بحصرت حق سیمانه کرده
متوجه بدحشانات و کابل شد *

در قدر و بدحشانات لشکر و مردم حشرو شاه نودید * آمد بحصرت
مادشاه نام را ملازمت کرده * باوجود گاهان که بد کرده — ماسد بابسر
میرارار شهید کرده و سلطان مسعود میرارار میل کشید بودند و اس هر دو
میررا عموراده مادشاه نام بوده اند — و قل ار آن که عور آن حصرت
در انام قزاقها بولایت او افاده بود — ار ضرورت رفته بودند — بمحصلیه
و در شبها آنحصرت را ار ولایت خود بدر کرده بود * و حصرت
مادشاه که مفهوم مردی و مردی و مرآت بوده اند — اصلاً و قطعاً در مقام
انتقام آن شدند و فرموده اند که ار حواهر و طلا آلات هر جد که دلش
حواهد بردارد — و بمحش قطار شتر و بمحش (۱۸) اسر مار همراه برده
صحت و سلامت رحصت نومه بحراسان رفته و حصرت مادشاه متوجه
کابل شدند *

در آن وقت محکم کابل محمد معیم — پسر دو الوں ارعون که پدر
کلای ناهید بیگم بود — داشت * کابل را بعد ار وفات الع بیگ میررا —
ار عد الرراق میررا گرفته وار (۲۰ آن) میررا عد الرراق مذکور عموراده
مادشاه بوده *

مادشاه بدولت کابل آمدند * دوسه روز ولعگی شد و بعد ار حد روز
بعهد و قول کابل را به سدگان حصرت مادشاه سُرده با مال و اسباب
خود سندهار پیش پدر خود رفت *

و فتح کابل در اواخر ماه ربیع الثانی ^{۹۱} سه بهصد و ده بوده * بعد ار میر
شدن کابل به سگش رفتند و بیکاره الحه کرده بکابل آمدند *

و حصرت حام که والدۀ حصرت مادشاه باشد — در شش روز نب
کرده — ار عالم فانی مدار العا رحلت نمودند * و در باع نوروری حصرت

و تخمّل که با مختصرت معارك و ميلىك روى نمود — ار كم بادشاهى منول
است * دو بوبت نصرب شمشير فتح سمرقند كرده * مرهه اول حضرت بادشاه
بايام دؤارده ساله بوده اند و مرهه دوم بورده ساله بود اند و مرهه سوم
نسب و دو ساله بوده اند — و شش مائه على شده اند و مثل سلطان حسن
مررا مانرا عموى اشان در حرامان بوده اند — باشان كوكم نرسادند
و سلطان محمود خان در كاشغر بودند كه طعائى اشان باشد — اشان سر
كوكم نرسادند * خون مدد و معاونت ارميخ حارسك — مانوس شدند *
درس طور وقف شاهى بيگ خان گنه نرساد كه اگر (3b) حاراده بيگم
خواهر خود را من سنت كند مان ماوشا صلح شود و راطه اتحاد بنا باشد *
آخر ضرورت شد حاراده سگم را بخان مذكور سنت كرده خود بر آمدند *
با دوست كس نياده و در كف خان و در مانى آنيا حاروق — الملك

* Comparing this passage with A 1 s parallel passage (Bib. Ind I 67) we find a curious resemblance, e.g. *وآن قدر مسفت* ویردد كه — آن مختصرت را منسى آمده كم نادنساهى را رو نموده ناسد — وآن قدر دلبرى — و تخمّل كه آن مختصرت — در معارك —

** Pavet de Courteille and Steingass render *chapau* by *haillons* and 'tattered garments' Frskine (127 and n) by "long frocks" Vambury gives no *chapau* but *chapau* which he translates *Oberrocl* and *pardessus* Steingass has no *chapau*

*** (حاروق) The words of the next phrase present difficulty. The sense is 'with clubs in their hands', and that this is so, is shewn by the parallel passages from the Turkī and Persian texts of Bībar's Memoirs (Turkī) *اكثر ناناي و ايليك لارندا ناناي و اناق لارندا حاروق و ايكينى* (Persian) *در دسماي انسان حوبيا و در باهاي انسان حاروق و در* (B. M. Add 26, 324 p 4 Ilminski has verbal variants) *كتعنباي انسان حانا* The difficult words may be a Turkī interpolation in Gul badan's text. The word which follows *حاروق* may be read *المسك* leathern, but *حاروق* includes the notion of leathern and neither the Turkī nor the Persian text uses any such qualifying word. I propose to read the words as a Turkī phrase — *اذلك لارندا* حوبايى. It may be that when Gul badan was writing she had her Father's book before her. Her close reproduction of his words points to this or to intimate recollection of his words.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

حکم شد بود که آنچه از واقعهٔ فردوس مکانی و حصرت حَتّ
آشیانی میداسه باشید موسید* وقتی که حصرت فردوس مکانی از دار
العا مدار العا حرامیدند— اس حبیر هشت ساله بود و بان* واقع شاد
کمرک بمحاطر مانده بود* سار حکم پادشاهی آنچه شش و بمحاطر بود نوشته
میشود*

در اوّل اس خُرو از واقعهٔ حصرت پادشاه بانام نوشته میشود—
اگرچه در واقعه مائه حصرت پادشاه بانام اس سبحان مذکور است— سار
نیمّا و سرگّا نوشته میشود*

از رمان حصرت صاحب فرای نا رمان حصرت فردوس مکانی از
سلاطین ماصه هیچکس برابر اشان تردّدات نکرده* در دُوّارده سالگی
پادشاه شدند و سارمخ پنجم شهر رمضان المبارک سه بقصد و به در
حطّه** اندخان (3a) که پای محت ولایت فرغانه است— حطّه خواند*
مدّت یارده ساله کمال در الکّه ماور الّهر ما سلاطین جمعیه و سموره
و اورنگیه حگگها و تردّدات نموده اند که رمان قلم از شرح تعداد آن عاخر
و قاسر است* و آنقدر محت و مهالك که در باب جهانگیری بمحصر
ما رُوی نموده— کم کس را رُوی نموده باشد* و آن قدر دلیری و مردانگی

به اس Misread in translating as (بمان)*
حطّه دلکسای A F (Bib Ind 87) has (حطه)**
1*

احوال همايون بادشاه

جمع کرده گلیدن بیگم ستِ نادر بادشاه عهده آکر بادشاه *

Copied from the British Museum Persian MS (Or 166),
by Annette S Beveridge

* (بادشاه) This title stands on the first page of the MS and on paper like that of the MS. The page is numbered 15 in the Arabic and 2 in the BM marking. The MS is numbered by folios, and both with Arabic figures—inscribed in India—and with Roman, added by the BM. This reproduction and the translation of the MS are numbered in agreement with the Roman figures. A subdivision of folios into pages (1a, 1b &c) allows easier reference. One index serves for both parts (Persian text and translation).

همایون نامه

تصنیف گلبدن بیگم ستِ نابر بادشاه *

* (Note to نادرشاه) This title is inscribed on the first fly leaf of the volume containing the MS. It is upon paper of colour and kind differing from that of the MS and identical with four blank pages bound up at the end of the volume, possibly with the intention of writing up the missing terminal portion of the work.

